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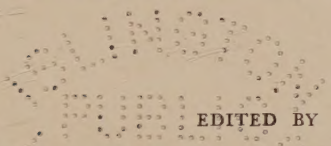
THE EXPANSION OF THE ANGLO-SAXON NATIONS

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE UNITED STATES

BY SEVERAL CONTRIBUTORS



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PREFACE

THE plan of this book is due to Dr. M. W. Keatinge, Reader in Education in the University of Oxford, who entrusted me with the task of putting his ideas into practice. Many teachers, not only in the Colonies but also in England, have for some time felt that textbooks dealing with Imperial History are written too exclusively from the point of view of the mother-country. The present volume is an attempt to remedy this defect. Although I have dealt with the early history of the British Empire, its subsequent development and that of the United States are described by writers each of whom can adopt the standpoint of a "native," and has therefore a special knowledge of his subject and a special interest in it. Our book is designed primarily for the use of pupils in the highest forms of secondary schools, and for students in continuation schools and training colleges; but I believe that its sphere of usefulness will not be confined to such readers, and that anyone who needs a short account of the expansion of the Anglo-Saxon nations may find here a fresh and serviceable presentment of the subject. The contributors to this volume are widely removed one from the other, but they all, in

varying degrees, inherit the same traditions and culture. It is our earnest hope therefore that, even if we may not see eye to eye on points of detail, our composite history may do something—however small it may be—towards binding together in a mutual respect and understanding the various members of the great alliance to which we all alike belong.

The task of editing such a volume as this under war conditions has naturally presented many difficulties. I should like to express my sincere gratitude to all those who have assisted me to overcome them. In particular I desire to thank Mr. F. J. Wylie, Censor of the Rhodes Scholars at Oxford, whose kindly interest and ready help did much to smooth my path. I am also anxious to acknowledge my debt to my fellow-contributors. Their unfailing courtesy and forbearance have transmuted the somewhat thankless task of an editor into a pleasure and a privilege.

H. C. B.

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CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE - - - - - - - - v

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE (TO 1713) 1

By the EDITOR.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA (SINCE 1713) - - - 54

By ARTHUR G. DORLAND, B.A. (Queen's University), M.A. (Yale); formerly Research Fellow of Yale University; Lecturer in History at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA - - - - 121

By LAURENCE H. GIPSON, B.A. (Oxon.), Ph.D. (Yale); formerly Rhodes Scholar and Bulkely Fellow of Yale University; Professor of History, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana; author of *Jared Ingersoll: A Study of American Loyalism.*

INDIA (SINCE 1713) - - - - - - 186

By A. YUSUF ALI, M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.), C.B.E., Barrister-at-Law; late of the Indian Civil Service; author of *Life and Labour of the People of India*, etc.

BRITISH AFRICA - - - - - - 254

By JAN H. HOFMEYR, M.A. (Cape); formerly Rhodes Scholar; Principal of the South African School of Mines and Technology, Johannesburg; author of *The Life of Jan Hofmeyr.*

BRITISH AUSTRALASIA - - - - - 307

By THOMAS DUNBABIN, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A. (Tasmania); formerly Rhodes Scholar and Oxford University Geographical Scholar; now on the literary staff of the Melbourne *Argus*.

PAGE

THE SMALLER BRITISH POSSESSIONS - - - 350
By the EDITOR.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE - - 364

BIBLIOGRAPHY - - - - - 392

INDEX - - - - - - 395

LIST OF MAPS

1. THE BRITISH EMPIRE AT THE PEACE OF UTRECHT (1713) - - - - - - - 53
2. NORTH AMERICA IN 1756 - - - - 63
3. EXTENT OF SETTLEMENT IN NORTH AMERICA (1660-1760) - - - - - - - 68
4. NORTH AMERICA, 1763-1774 - - - - 73
5. NORTH AMERICA, 1783-1867 - - - - 95
6. U.S.A. AT THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION - - 129
7. EASTERN NORTH AMERICA IN 1812 - - - 147
8. U.S.A. IN 1861 - - - - - - 161
9. TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF U.S.A. - - - 170
10. OVERSEAS POSSESSIONS OF U.S.A. - - - 171
11. GENERAL MAP OF INDIA - - - 190-191
12. THE DECCAN - - - - - 202
13. BENGAL, ETC. - - - - - - 205
14. AFGHANISTAN, ETC. - - - - - 226
15. THE PANJAB, ETC. - - - - - 227
16. SKELETON MAP OF INDIA - - - - 248
17. OROGRAPHICAL MAP OF AFRICA - - - 255
18. SOUTH AFRICA IN 1806 - - - - - 268
19. SOUTH AFRICA TO-DAY - - - - 296-297
20. POLITICAL MAP OF AFRICA - - - - 303
21. AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND - - - 343
22. THE BRITISH EMPIRE.—PRESENT EXTENT OF ANGLO-SAXON EXPANSION - - - - - 361

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THE EXPANSION OF THE ANGLO-SAXON NATIONS

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

I.—THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH EXPANSION

Early Attempts. In studying the history of the English nation one is struck by the fact that its great overseas trade and the development of the British Empire consequent thereupon are comparatively modern phenomena. It is true that as early as the thirteenth century the Merchants of the Staple were already carrying on with the Continent a trade in raw materials such as wool, hides, lead, and tin; while at a later date the Merchant Adventurers exported manufactured cloth to Flanders and the Baltic countries. There was also an import trade in wine from Bordeaux, and stories such as that of Dick Whittington and his cat remind us that even in the Middle Ages fortunes could be made by adventuring trade with the less civilized countries. But during the mediæval period there was rarely any considerable English navy, save such as was raised from merchant vessels in time of war, and in consequence the narrow seas were infested by pirates. Again, the Hundred Years' War, followed by the Wars of the Roses, entailed a long period of misgovernment in England and foreign trade accordingly anguished. Moreover, we have hitherto seen nothing in the

way of colonization, as we now understand it, and it is not until the opening of the seventeenth century, after a brilliant period of preparation lasting from the accession of Henry VII. to the death of Elizabeth, that England is at last firmly set on the road to overseas empire.

We have then to ask: Why did England at this particular period of her history first begin to expand and ultimately to colonize? It is obviously not enough to urge that Britain is an island or that the English have a Viking strain in their blood. Both these reasons doubtless contain an element of truth, but it is noticeable that Britain is the only island known to history that has become the centre of a great empire; and, again, it is not from the parts of England in which the Vikings settled that the great discoverers and colonists of our nation have been chiefly drawn. We must obviously look a little deeper for an answer to our question.

Britain's Geographical Position. Let us then begin by considering the geographical position of Britain. When a continental nation wishes to expand it usually attempts to do so at the expense of its nearest neighbours. England—owing to the implications of the Norman Conquest and to her trading relations with the Continent—for long occupied a somewhat similar position. The Hundred Years' War with France, for example, was a disastrous experiment in expansion of this kind. When the anarchy of the Wars of the Roses was over, Henry VII. did his best to develop the English navy and to revive trade. He passed a Navigation Act (1485) to the effect that all Bordeaux wines should be imported in English vessels, manned and owned by Englishmen; he began the construction of big ships and built at Portsmouth the first English dry dock; he made a treaty with Denmark whereby a way to the Baltic was opened and the rights of Englishmen to the Iceland fisheries were secured; and by the *Magnus Intercursus* (1496) he concluded an agreement with the Low Countries to the great

advantage of the Merchant Adventurers. Trade with the Mediterranean was also fostered and in the first half of the sixteenth century the produce even of the Far East was brought to England from the Levant in English ships.

It was at this juncture, when the trade and shipping of England were being thus revived, that the position of the country in the known world was suddenly changed, and the future now became fraught with great possibilities, even if they were but gradually realized. Columbus's discovery of America (1492) and Vasco da Gama's voyage to India *via* the Cape of Good Hope (1498) opened entirely new fields of maritime enterprise. It was the vision of trade with the Far East which led to both of these discoveries. Hitherto the silks, spices, ivory, and gems of the Indies had been brought by Arab traders to the head of the Red Sea and so to Alexandria, or else across the Syrian Desert to the Levant. Thence they were imported into Europe chiefly by the vessels of Venice and Genoa, and were then carried overland to the German Hanseatic cities, the merchants of which distributed them to the rest of Europe. As we have seen, England in the reign of Henry VII. began to take a subordinate share in this trade, but the advance of the Ottoman Turks during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries made the Mediterranean unsafe, and, as a consequence, Europe was being more and more cut off from trade with the East. The Mediterranean, therefore, ceased to be the "Great Sea"—the chief highway of maritime trade—and the Hansa towns were no longer the northern termini of this great trade route. After 1492 the centre of gravity shifted to the western side of Europe, to the countries which fronted the Atlantic. Spain and Portugal were naturally the first to reap the benefit of the discoveries made by their agents, but England also began to take the place of the Hanseatic cities, and in the field of maritime adventure she contributed to putting into practice the vast theories which were beginning to exercise men's minds.

Cabot. Columbus had aimed at a direct sea-route to the Indies across the Atlantic so as to avoid the dangers of the Mediterranean and to obviate the reshipping of goods and the middleman's profits thereby entailed. To the day of his death he believed that he had discovered the *East* Indies and the mainland of eastern Asia. But an Italian traveller named Marco Polo (1254-1324) had already reported that to the north-east of India lay the rich land of Cathay (China) and the island of Zipangu (Japan). It was also known that the Norsemen as early as A.D. 1000 had sailed *via* Iceland and Greenland, and had reached a fertile country which they called Vinland. It therefore occurred to an Italian merchant named John Cabot, who had settled at Bristol, that this land, which was probably the same as Marco Polo's Cathay or Zipangu, might be reached by crossing the Atlantic to the north of Columbus's route. In 1496 he obtained from Henry VII. a patent to "seeke out, discover, and finde whatsoever isles, countreys, or provinces of the heathen and infidels whatsoever they be and in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have been unknowen to all Christians." The king afterwards contributed the sum of £10 from his privy purse towards the expenses of Cabot's discoveries.

John Cabot made two voyages—one in 1497 and one in the following year, and his son Sebastian made another attempt apparently in 1499. Between them they discovered Newfoundland, and probably skirted the coast of North America from Labrador as far south as Cape Hatteras. But little could be found save bleak and rocky shores, with forests often reaching to the water's edge and with few traces of inhabitants. Although it was announced in England that Cabot had "gained a part of Asia without a stroke of the sword," this was obviously not the rich land of Cathay; it was, indeed, a country useless for trade. It seemed vain for England to follow up the discoveries of the Cabots, and

she would anyway have found it difficult to do so at this time, for she was still impoverished by her civil wars and her relations with Scotland were not yet peaceably settled. Isolated voyages to North America were certainly made by some Bristol merchants in the first years of the sixteenth century—by John Rut in 1527, and by a certain "Master Hore and divers others" in 1536. But there was no attempt at settlement in North America for nearly 100 years after the Cabots' voyages.

The Newfoundland Fisheries. The only discovery of immediate value which had resulted was that of the Great Banks fishery, south of Newfoundland. Henceforward these fisheries were the scene of an important English industry, and became a training-ground for the personnel of the English navy. "If these should be lost," wrote Ralegh at a later date, "it would be the greatest blow ever given to England." Much of the dried Newfoundland "stockfish" was re-exported from England to the Roman Catholic countries of southern Europe, and it helped to pay for the wine, sugar, and other commodities which were imported from them. But, with this exception, the economic effects of these early voyages were not great. None the less, they had shown that England was no longer at the edge of the known world; and even if her first essays had proved to a large extent abortive, and she were still overshadowed by two powerful rivals—Spain and Portugal—her period of preparation had begun, and having once put her hand to the plough she was destined not to look back.

The Renaissance and the Reformation. It is evident that desire for trade was the chief motive force of these early voyages, but there were at work other influences as well. The Renaissance—a vast adventure of intellectual discovery and exploration—manifested itself also in geographical discovery and exploration. Moreover, in England the Renaissance implied the growth of the idea of nationality

as typified by the king. A statute of Henry VIII. laid it down that "This realm of England is an Empire"—*i.e.*, a state independent of Papal interference and free from any overlordship such as was exercised by the Emperor over the states of the Holy Roman Empire. It is noticeable that before a nation can expand successfully abroad she must first become a unity at home; this fact is illustrated in the history of Rome, of France, and of modern Germany, as well as in that of England. Conversely, a continual source of weakness in the empire of Spain was the fact that the unity of the mother-country was often more apparent than real. But in the reign of Henry VIII. national unity was emphasized by the nationalization of the English Church. This event had important geographical implications. Five months after Columbus's discovery of America, Pope Alexander VI. had issued a Bull assigning to Spain all territories, outside Europe, which might be discovered on the west side of a meridian drawn 100 leagues west of the Azores. Similar lands on the east side of this line were to belong to Portugal. This arrangement was modified in 1494 by the Treaty of Tordesillas, by which the dividing-line was moved 270 leagues farther west. So long as England acknowledged Papal authority she was thus debarred from overseas expansion; but the Reformation meant that she could disregard the Pope's decision and would claim a free field in America and elsewhere. Add to this the fact that Charles V. of Spain (1517-1558) was nephew to Katherine of Aragon, whose divorce from Henry VIII. precipitated the English Reformation, and it is easy to see how England became at once anti-Papal and anti-Spanish. These tendencies increased during the sixteenth century and culminated in the defeat of the Armada.

The North-West and North-East Passages. The development of the navy, fostered by Henry VII., was continued by his successor; harbours were dredged, arsenals were

founded at Deptford and Woolwich, naval gunnery was improved, languishing rope industries were revived, and the whole art of shipbuilding was encouraged. The mercantile marine, also, which in time of war reinforced the royal navy, was growing in numbers and efficiency. Although England had been for some centuries past more or less of a maritime nation, yet she had usually regarded war as the business of soldiers fighting on land to whom the aid of a fleet was merely subsidiary. But a change was already beginning to take place. Sea-power now became to the English what it had meant to the Venetians in the Middle Ages, and the result was clearly demonstrated in 1588. For the present, however, England did not feel herself sufficiently strong to offer direct opposition to Spain and Portugal. These two countries controlled the two sea routes to India—that *via* the Strait of Magellan (discovered 1520), and that round the Cape of Good Hope (discovered 1498). Attempts were therefore made to find some other passage to the north either of America or of Asia, which might lead to the rich lands of India, Cathay, and Zipangu.

In 1527 an English merchant named Robert Thorne had set forth a "Declaration" to prove that a route to Cathay could be found by sailing on a great circle across the North Pole. The object of Rut (1527) and of Hore (1536) (see p. 5) had been to discover a "north-west passage" of a similar kind. In 1553, at the suggestion of Sebastian Cabot, now "Grand Pilot of England," an expedition under Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor endeavoured to find a north-east passage.

Chancellor. Willoughby perished in the cold of the Arctic winter, but Chancellor discovered the White Sea and reached Archangel, whence he travelled to Moscow and there interviewed the Czar, Ivan the Terrible. At this time Russia had only a very small outlet on to the Baltic, near Narva, and her external relations with Western Europe

were carried on largely through the medium of the Hansa merchants. Ivan, barbarian as he was, had formed great projects for the development of his country, as well as for securing himself against his downtrodden and discontented subjects. He was therefore anxious to improve his relations with England, and it is even said that he became a suitor or the hand of Elizabeth herself. Be that as it may, the chief result of Chancellor's expedition was the opening up of trade between England and Russia and the incorporation of the Muscovy Company.

Jenkinson. In 1558-59, Anthony Jenkinson, who succeeded Chancellor as chief agent of this company, attempted to find an overland route to Cathay. He actually penetrated as far east as Bokhara, and was commissioned to open up trade with Persia. The company prospered during the greater part of Elizabeth's reign, but eventually, after the death of Ivan the Terrible in 1584, it suffered a decline owing to the competition of the Hanseatic League and of Dutch merchants.

The Trading Companies. The Muscovy Company marks a new departure in English methods of foreign trade. Hitherto the members of "regulated" companies, such as that of the Merchant Adventurers, had traded each at his own risk and with his own resources; the organization of such companies, in fact, had much in common with that of the modern Stock Exchange. But the Muscovy Company is the first of the great "joint-stock" companies—exemplified at a later date by the East India Company—in which the capital was pooled and the profits distributed to the investors as interest on the shares which they held. In passing it is worth noticing how important is the part played by trading companies in the early development of the empire. They are an institution almost unknown in the case of Spain and Portugal, where the Crown is always the great monopolist. But with the English—and the Dutch—the company system

is frequently employed. Although a charter granted by the King is necessary, the activity of the company is due far more to private enterprise than to Government encouragement. Bacon, in an oft-quoted phrase, pointed out that "trading in companies is most agreeable to the English nature." In the case of merchants who traded with countries other than the highly developed states of Western Europe, the existence of companies afforded a double advantage: the individual trader had a substantial force behind him to protect his interests, and at the same time he could furnish a guarantee to his customers that he was not a pirate or a knave.

Frobisher. The project of finding a north-west passage to India was revived in the reign of Elizabeth. Its discovery would secure for England the shortest route to the Far East, the trade of which was at this time a Portuguese monopoly. It was also hoped that in the colder regions of North-East Asia, and still more in the parts of North America bordering upon the supposed north-west passage, a market might be found for the heavy woollen cloth which was the chief product that England had to offer in exchange for foreign goods. With the object, therefore, of finding this passage Martin Frobisher, between 1576 and 1578, made three voyages. During the first of them he discovered the mouth of what is now known as Frobisher Bay, and on his return he announced positively that he had discovered the entrance to the long-sought strait. A company, called the Company of Cathay, was formed, and Frobisher was appointed admiral of the undertaking. But the only result of his second and third voyages was to discover what is now known as Hudson Strait, between Baffin Land and Labrador, and to bring back to England two cargoes of ore which was at first supposed to contain gold, but which on being analyzed proved worthless.

Gilbert. The Company of Cathay thus came to an

ignominious end, but even before Frobisher had made his voyages Sir Humphrey Gilbert had published a "Discourse," proving in an entirely *a priori* fashion that a north-west passage must exist and would be navigable. Amongst Gilbert's propositions was the suggestion that "we might inhabit part of those countries and settle there needy people of our own which now trouble the commonwealth"—a view which was shared by several contemporary thinkers. As early as the time of Cabot a project had been put forward to plant a colony of criminals in the newly discovered land; but, for all that, the idea of making across the seas a settlement, which should be a new home for emigrants from the mother-country, was indeed something of a novelty. It was quite foreign to the contemporary Spanish imperial system, which was in some ways akin to the British occupation of India in modern times. But in this proposal of Gilbert's we have the germ of that "expansion of England" which developed so remarkably during the next three centuries.

Gilbert put his theories into practice in 1583. In August of that year he formally took possession of Newfoundland, to which England had laid a vague claim ever since its discovery by Cabot. But the design of colonization failed; the crews became mutinous and were harassed by sickness, while the store-ship *Delight*, which contained everything necessary to the founding of a settlement, was wrecked on the coast of Nova Scotia. The project, therefore, had to be abandoned, and on the return journey, during a gale in the Atlantic, Gilbert himself went down with his tiny "frigate," the *Squirrel*.

Davis. Yet another attempt to find the north-west passage was made by John Davis, who between 1585 and 1587 made three voyages. He penetrated farther north than the point reached by Frobisher, and discovered the strait which bears his name; but his discoveries led to no commercial results and to no attempts at colonization. It should be noted that,

with the possible exception of Gilbert's expedition, the object of all these voyages is first and foremost the opening up of a trade-route to India. North America is looked upon as a "half-way house" upon the road, much as South Africa was regarded when it first attracted the attention of Europeans. The settlement of North America for its own sake belongs to the next stage in the development of the Empire.

Ralegh and "Virginia." This stage belongs but little to the reign of Elizabeth; none the less it may be said to have been clearly foreshadowed in a project which was put forward during this period by Sir Walter Ralegh. He was the half-brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and, profiting by the latter's experience in the case of Newfoundland, he decided to plant his colony in a less bleak and forbidding part of North America. Spain had attempted to capture and colonize what was known as Florida—a name given not only to the peninsula itself, but also to the whole coast of North America possibly as far north as the Great Banks fisheries. But she had not been very successful in making good her conquest, although a Huguenot intrusion in 1562 had been ruthlessly suppressed, and it was therefore felt in England that this part of North America offered a suitable field for colonization. The wealth of the whole region at the same time was greatly exaggerated.

In 1585 a band of settlers, sent out by Ralegh but commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, arrived at the Island of Roanoke, near Cape Hatteras. The colony was named Virginia[1] in honour of Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen, but it did not prosper. The settlers were disappointed to find that wealth could be attained only at the price of much strenuous labour, and their relations with the native Indians quickly degenerated into a state of war. The colony was therefore abandoned, and, although Ralegh despatched

[1] Roanoke is now in the state of North Carolina, to the south of the modern Virginia.

another party of colonists in 1587, their efforts again failed. Although the contemporary conception of a colony—borrowed from Spain—was that of a source for gold and silver, there were not wanting those who could see that in the end a surer profit could be derived from agriculture and commerce. The mathematician Harriot, who accompanied Grenville as surveyor, published in 1588 *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia;* in this document the value of natural products is emphasized and the basis of the prosperity of North America foreshown. The fact, then, that Ralegh's Virginia plantation proved a failure does not seriously detract from his genius. Nothing daunted, he turned his attention to South America. In 1595 he led in person an expedition which explored the Orinoco and brought back wonderful travellers' tales of the "great and golden city of Manoa," where wealth untold was to be had for the asking, and of the pleasant land of Guiana, the climate of which was reported to be eminently suited to English settlement. These were but empty dreams which were destined, some twenty years later, to lure Ralegh to destruction; but although his visions, like those of his half-brother Gilbert, brought at the time no practical result, yet both dreamers were idealists whose theories were afterwards more successfully applied, and as such they merit an honourable place in the company of those who have laboured to build up the British Empire.

Hawkins and West African Trade. Interesting as were the abortive attempts of these early colonists, it is by a different type of adventurer that the Elizabethan epoch is chiefly characterized. As early as the reign of Mary a regular trade in pepper, gold, and ivory had been begun with the West Coast of Africa, but the opposition of the Portuguese and the competition of French traders were both tending to decrease the profits on this merchandise. John Hawkins, a Plymouth trader who had engaged in traffic

with the Canaries, had learnt there that owing to the practical extinction of the native races in the West Indies the Spanish planters were in great need of labour, and that they would therefore be willing to pay high prices for negro slaves from West Africa. Hawkins had no scruples on the subject of slave-trading, and he resolved to speculate. In 1562 he obtained 300 negroes in Sierra Leone and disposed of them without difficulty in the Island of Hispaniola (Hayti). In spite of the monopoly which Spain claimed in the West Indies the planters welcomed the opportunity of obtaining the slave labour which was so essential to them.

Hawkins's first voyage was so profitable that a second venture on a larger scale was made in 1564. Again large profits resulted, and in 1567 a third voyage was made. The 400 or 500 negroes obtained from the West Coast of Africa were disposed of with some difficulty owing to the opposition of the Spanish authorities, but the colonists themselves "traded willingly." In attempting to return home through Florida Strait, Hawkins was caught by a hurricane which so damaged his flagship, the *Jesus of Lübeck*, that he was forced to put back to the Mexican port of San Juan de Ulua to refit.

The Fight at San Juan de Ulua. On the day after his arrival a fleet of thirteen Spanish ships appeared off the harbour. Hawkins could hardly venture to hold the port against them, for England and Spain were still nominally at peace; but if he admitted them, they might at their ease destroy the storm-battered vessels of the interlopers. He therefore secured a written promise from the Spanish commander that if his fleet were admitted he would not molest the English ships. Six days later the Spaniards, reinforced by soldiers from the mainland, suddenly attacked the five English vessels. Two only of them escaped—one commanded by Hawkins and one by his cousin, Francis Drake. Both ships were packed with men, many of whom were

survivors from the rest of the fleet, and Hawkins had to leave a hundred of them behind on the Mexican coast. These men ultimately fell into the hands of the Inquisition, and were treated with great brutality. Hawkins and Drake, with the remainder of the crews, reached home after enduring great privations.

Increasing Hostility between England and Spain. This third voyage of Hawkins marks the last attempt made by England to trade peacefully with the Spanish colonies. We may well deprecate the slave traffic which Hawkins was the first Englishman to carry on, and the high-handed manner in which he defied the Spanish authorities in the West Indies; but at the same time it is obvious that he was the victim of the basest treachery, and it was not unnatural that the massacre of San Juan de Ulua should rankle deep in the hearts of the fierce sea-dogs of Elizabeth's time. They did not dispute Spain's dominion in the New World; but they did dispute her claim to exclude them from trade in those regions, and they heartily resented her methods of endeavouring to enforce that claim. Henceforth, therefore, Spain is their avowed enemy whether England and Spain are officially at war or not; and thus, while the less martial spirits of the time, such as Frobisher and Gilbert, are attempting to discover fresh sea-routes for peaceful trade in regions exempt from Spanish and Portuguese competition, high-spirited seamen, smarting under the remembrance of Spanish treachery or the cruelties of the Inquisition, boldly carry war into the heart of the Spanish colonies in the West Indies and Central America. These adventurers have been called "pirate patriots," but the term "pirate" is perhaps a little unfairly applied to them. Although the home countries might be nominally at peace, the laws governing international relations were as yet so rudimentary that rules binding states in Europe were not considered applicable in far-distant seas. But even if plunder were the chief object of these Elizabethan seamen,

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they were at the same time intensely patriotic. They hated the Roman Church, typified for them by the Inquisition, and they saw that Philip's wealth and the strength of the Counter-Reformation were derived from the gold and silver of the Spanish possessions. All these facts, therefore, must be taken into account in attempting to criticize the career of any of those adventurers of whom Francis Drake is the most illustrious example.

Drake. In 1570, three years after the massacre of San Juan de Ulua, Drake made a voyage to the West Indies, and he repeated his exploit in the following year. Little is known of the details of these two expeditions, but Drake was obviously spying out the nakedness of the land and gathering information of which he speedily made use. In 1572 he appeared again in Spanish waters, and attacked Nombre de Dios, a town on the Isthmus of Panama, to which the treasures of Peru were sent periodically, and whence they were carried by Spanish ships to Europe. The attack on the city was not very successful, for Drake was wounded and carried off unconscious by his men; but a treasure convoy was subsequently captured, and Drake also made his way across the Isthmus, and was the first Englishman to look upon the Pacific Ocean, or South Sea, as it was then called. He arrived home in 1573. Even more important than the rich cargo which he carried was his knowledge of Spain's weakness and his project for a raid into the Pacific, which Spain regarded as inaccessible to any foreigner.

The Voyage of Circumnavigation. For a time Drake was employed in the Irish wars, and was unable to put his plans into operation until 1577. In that year he was placed in command of an expedition in which the Queen herself and Walsingham, the Secretary of State, were financially interested; but to allay suspicion, and to blind the cautious Burleigh, who was afraid to precipitate a war with Spain, it

was announced that Alexandria was the goal of the voyage. However, Drake sailed boldly south-westward from the Cape Verde Islands, and, sternly suppressing a mutiny on the part of the more timid among his crew, entered the Strait of Magellan. He successfully penetrated into the Pacific, but was there met by violent storms which lasted for seven weeks. During this time one of his ships foundered and another returned to England. Again and again Drake in the remaining ship—the *Golden Hind*—was driven back, but in the course of his wanderings he made the important discovery that Tierra del Fuego is an island and not, as had hitherto been thought, a part of the *Terra Australis*, or great Antarctic Continent.

At last the *Golden Hind* fought her way through the region of westerly gales and sailed northwards along the west coast of South America. Everywhere the Spaniards were taken utterly by surprise, for they had never imagined that any Englishman would venture to navigate the Strait of Magellan. Drake captured a fabulous amount of treasure, but when the question of returning to England arose, it seemed dangerous to risk encountering once more the Spaniards, who would now be thoroughly aroused and correspondingly well prepared. Accordingly, Drake coasted northwards in the hope of finding the western end of that north-west passage for which Frobisher at this time was seeking. He reached the latitude probably of Vancouver, but increasing cold, storms, fogs, and the absence of any signs of the desired passage, all induced him to turn back. He refitted his ship in a harbour near the modern San Francisco, where the neighbouring Indians gave him a warm welcome. At their desire he took possession of the district in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and gave to it the name of New Albion. After a month's sojourn among this friendly people, Drake struck boldly across the Pacific, and for sixty-eight days was out of sight of land. He returned to England *via* the Philippines and

East Indies, through the Indian Ocean, and round the Cape of Good Hope. He reached Plymouth on September 26, 1580.

War between England and Spain. This voyage of circumnavigation, and the responsibility for it which the Queen assumed by knighting Drake upon his return, made an open rupture with Spain inevitable, but several years yet elapsed before this actually occurred. It was not until 1585 that the slow-moving Philip II. at last decided upon war, and in that year Drake was despatched to the West Indies in command of a fleet of the Royal Navy. He created considerable havoc, and on his return voyage carried home the unsuccessful colonists whom Sir Richard Grenville had settled in 1585 upon the Island of Roanoke (see p. 11). Meanwhile Spanish preparations for war were advancing slowly but surely. The invasion of the Armada had been planned for 1587, but Drake's "singeing of the King of Spain's beard" delayed it until the following year. The details of that invasion and of its complete failure are to be found in any history of England, and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the defeat of the Armada marks an epoch in the history of the British Empire, because it decisively ended Spain's maritime supremacy. As Elizabeth herself said, the sea now became "common to all men," for the monopoly of Spain and Portugal[1] in the New World and the Indies was broken. It was clear now that the future of England would lie upon the ocean.

Early Attempts at Trade with India and the East. Although the expansion of England during the Elizabethan period was directed mainly towards the American continent, yet the last few years of the sixteenth century witnessed also the foreshadowing of our Indian empire. Spain's conquest of Portugal had laid the latter's dependencies open to attack

[1] Portugal had been conquered by Spain in 1580, and thus shared in her fate.

by England during the war which preceded and followed the defeat of the Armada. Moreover, Drake on his return from New Albion had made a trade agreement with the Sultan of Ternate, one of the Spice Islands. Between 1583 and 1591 Ralph Fitch, an agent of the Levant Company, had travelled overland to India and had penetrated as far even as Ceylon, Burma, Malacca, and "all the coast of the East India." Many English merchants, therefore, considered it more profitable to abandon the search for an hypothetical north-west passage, and to push boldly round the Cape of Good Hope and so force a trade with the Indies. In 1592 Sir James Lancaster, in spite of Portuguese opposition, penetrated by sea as far as the Malay Peninsula. A Portuguese carrack, the *Madre de Dios*, was captured; on board of her was found a *Notable Register of the Indies* which contained most valuable information as to the spice trade. In 1599 therefore a meeting, called by the Lord Mayor of London, determined on the formation of an East India Company, the object of which was to trade with the Malay Archipelago and Peninsula. Letters patent, giving official recognition to the Company, were granted on December 31, 1600, and in the next year a profitable voyage was made to Sumatra and Java. The expedition, which was captained by Lancaster, returned six months after the death of Elizabeth, bringing back one million pounds of pepper. A second voyage was organized in 1604, but in addition to the opposition of the Portuguese, the English merchants had also to encounter the competition of Dutch traders, who had already (1602) formed an East India Company of their own and were ousting the Portuguese from the Malay Archipelago. Nevertheless, this second expedition also paid good dividends and within the first few years of the seventeenth century England's East Indian trade was well established. The main object of all these early voyages was to obtain spices, which were a necessity in an age when no fresh meat was

obtainable during the winter months. The risks were always considerable, but those who organized these voyages were so amply recompensed when "their ship came home" that the hazard was well worth while.

England's Position as a Sea Power at the End of the Tudor Period. We may pause for a moment in passing to notice how relatively little English expansion owes to government action. The state fostered maritime activities by protecting and encouraging the individual rather than by controlling his energies; and in this respect the expansion of England shows a great contrast to that of Spain during the sixteenth century. The Spaniards had obtained large supplies of gold and silver from the New World, and the economic theories of the day greatly exaggerated the importance of the precious metals. England could get but little gold, although her explorers were always on the look-out for it and the piratical attacks of Drake and his fellows upon Spanish treasure ships were not without their value. But the important fact is that ultimately England was driven to rely on trade in order to become rich; and she therefore encouraged the company system because it fostered commerce without cost to the home government. This attitude of the English government helps to explain the fact that England developed as a maritime and commercial power long before she began to plant colonies, and that her settlements overseas are largely the outcome, not of conquest effected by the State, but of trade carried on by private individuals. Thus, although England by the end of Elizabeth's reign was well launched on her career as a maritime commercial power, she had as yet no colonies, in spite of the attempts of Gilbert and Ralegh. As we have so often seen, the Elizabethan found it hard to rid himself of dreams of an El Dorado, such as Spain had discovered in Peru and Mexico, or of a market for trade in luxuries such as the silk, spices, and gems of the Indies and Cathay. He could not reconcile himself to the prospect of

hard agricultural labour which was essential to the planting of colonies in a temperate region. There was, again, an unfortunate tendency to regard plantations as dumping-grounds for "sturdy beggars," or for spirited young men who had failed to make good at home. But the age of discovery was already giving place to the age of overseas trade; and trade with uncivilized countries leads on as a rule to territorial acquisition and settlement. While, therefore, the Elizabethan period has presented us with a romantic epoch of adventure and privateering leading on towards commerce, the seventeenth century is destined to be a more prosaic period of trade based upon settlement, and this implies the growth of colonies.

II.—ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN NORTH AMERICA.

The Virginia Colony. One of the first acts of James I. after his accession was to conclude a peace with Spain. The strong position of England at sea and the growing prosperity of the mother-country fostered the expansion of trade; but at the same time the growth of population and the tendency to replace tillage by sheep-farming had increased distress among the peasant class, and for this evil colonization seemed an obvious palliative. The attempts which Ralegh had made in 1585 and 1587, even if abortive, had not been forgotten. In 1606 a charter was granted to the Virginia Company, which comprised two branches, one having its headquarters at London and the other at Plymouth. The object of this double Company (which was organized on the "regulated" system) was to plant two settlements on the coast of North America between the 34th and 45th parallels of north latitude. The colony which the Plymouth Company proposed to establish in the northern part of this vast area came to nothing, but farther south the London Company planted a new Virginia—"earth's only paradise," as Michael Drayton describes it in his poetical prospectus to the "Vir-

ginian Voyage." In 1607 Jamestown, on the James River, was founded, and the first permanent English settlement in North America was begun. Although the discovery of gold was still an object of many of the colonists, the Company hoped to develop a supply of naval stores such as masts, hemp, and tar, which would render England independent of the Baltic provinces, whence the merchants of the Eastland Company obtained these necessaries in exchange for English cloth. It was hoped that Virginia might provide a market for this cloth and would, perhaps, in return be able also to supply wine, sugar, silk, and similar commodities which the home-country could at present procure only from the foreigners of Southern Europe or the Far East.

Captain John Smith. The first attempts at settlement in Virginia involved a prolonged struggle against famine, disease, and hostile Indians; and the whole venture might well have collapsed had it not been for the energy and resource of a certain Captain John Smith, who—if we may believe his autobiography—had had a romantic career as a soldier of fortune in the Low Countries and in the wars against the Turks. He saw clearly that the settlement would not succeed by prospecting for gold, but that "nothing is to be expected but by labour." In 1609 an attempt was made to save the colony. An amended charter, backed by many influential citizens, was obtained. Hitherto, the government of the settlement had been divided between a Royal Council of Virginia at home and a resident council for administration in the colony. This divided control proved a fertile source of disputes, and by the 1609 charter the ultimate control was put into the hands of a Council of Directors in England, who appointed a Governor with his council or assistants as their authority in the colony. Lord Delaware was the first occupant of this position.

Progress of the Colony. Thenceforward the colony slowly but surely began to thrive. No precious metals were

discovered, and it proved difficult to produce and to transport to England those naval stores and other commodities which it had been hoped the colony would supply. But tobacco, the cultivation of which the settlers learnt from the Indians, was easily grown and as easily shipped across the Atlantic; moreover, in the early days, at any rate, it commanded good prices in England. Thus, although public opinion in the mother-country during the first half of the seventeenth century tended to regard "drinking tobacco" as a vice and to look upon smoking much as we regard the opium habit to-day, yet the growing of tobacco steadily increased, and at times led to a danger of famine in the colony owing to the neglect of the cultivation of foodstuffs. Tobacco-planting also involved the formation of large estates owned by planters and worked by indentured servants, some of whom had been criminals or pauper children and had been transported from England to supply the necessary labour. After 1619, a new element—the negro slave—was introduced into the population, and this class grew in numbers as time went on.

Representative Government. It was in 1619, also—at a period, be it noticed, when the English House of Commons was already asserting itself in an attempt to limit the royal prerogative—that the Council of Directors of the Virginia Company sent instructions to the governor at Jamestown bidding him summon an assembly of burgesses. Every free settler was granted a vote, and each of the eleven townships in the colony had the right to return two members. This miniature assembly was modelled upon the Mother of Parliaments—the English House of Commons.[1] The Company in England, however, rapidly degenerated into a hotbed of dissension; Court intrigue from without and greed from

[1] The assembly was required "to initiate and follow the policy of the forms of the laws, customs, and manner of trial, and the administration of justice used in the realm of England, as near as may be."

within gave rise to rival factions. In 1624, therefore, the charter of the Virginia Company was formally revoked. Henceforth the local assembly is controlled by a governor appointed, not by a board of directors in England, but immediately by the Crown.

This type of constitution became the normal one for the American settlements, and in broad outline it is the method by which many of our colonies are still governed. The governor and his council, together with the executive officers, were nominated by the Crown; but there was also a representative assembly elected by the colonists, the conditions qualifying for the franchise varying somewhat in the different colonies. In spite of the fact that the governor was appointed directly by the Crown, the assembly rapidly assumed the predominant position in colonial government, because it had the power of the purse. It claimed control over internal taxation—a crucial point at a later date (see page 71); it also had the right of voting supplies, and the fact that it granted the governor his salary and that the grant was renewed year by year, gave the assembly a tight hold upon that official.

Maryland. The colony of Maryland, which in 1634 was founded to the north of Virginia, resembled its neighbour both as regards social organization and natural conditions. In origin, however, the two settlements were very different. In the case of Maryland there was no company, but Sir George Calvert (afterwards Lord Baltimore), who had already (1621–29) attempted unsuccessfully to colonize Newfoundland, had been granted in the reign of Charles I. a charter making him and his heirs *proprietors* of the proposed colony. They held it on condition merely of fealty to the English Crown, and they thus enjoyed almost sovereign rights within the colony itself. At the same time, a representative assembly with a council and governor was constituted; and although Lord Baltimore and his heirs, as

well as many of the original settlers, were Roman Catholics, complete religious toleration was granted to Christians of all denominations. The colony was therefore recruited mainly from such as for various reasons "could not conform to the laws of England relating to religion."

Religious Motives for Colonization. We see in the case of Maryland a new motive inspiring attempts at colonization. Hitherto desire for trade had been the mainspring of English expansion; but towards the end of James I.'s reign men had already begun to emigrate to America owing to religious or political discontent. Whether Roman Catholics or Puritans, they were serious-minded folk who would never have left their homes but for conscience' sake, and they furnished an admirable type of colonist—far different from the unruly gallant or the sturdy beggar. Indeed, had it not been for the growth of Puritanism at home, coupled with the lack of toleration which drove religious nonconformists from their native land, it is doubtful whether the English colonies along the north-east coast of North America would have been able to survive the early stages of their existence.

The results of the Hampton Court Conference (1604) had driven many of the Puritan party out of the Established Church, and some of them had sought an asylum in the United Netherlands, which were now in the final stages of their successful revolt against Spanish tyranny. But many of these exiles found it difficult to make a home in a foreign land; they were, to tell the truth, extremely exclusive, and regarded even other Protestant sects with intolerance; permission was therefore obtained from the Virginia Company for them to found a settlement to the north of the existing colony.

The Pilgrim Fathers. In 1620 the *Mayflower*, carrying 102 emigrants, of whom only forty-four were able-bodied men, arrived in a bay on the west side of Cape Cod, and

there these "Pilgrim Fathers" founded a settlement which they called Plymouth. Before landing, the colonists had drawn up an agreement combining themselves into "a civil body politic," which should frame "such just and equal laws . . . from time to time as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony." Legal recognition for the settlement was obtained in 1621 from the recently incorporated "Council of New England," which had been empowered to take over all territory between the Hudson River and Nova Scotia.

In spite of the severity of the climate and the danger of famine the colony, under its indomitable Governor, William Bradford, made slow progress. There is extant a Dutch description of Plymouth, dating from 1627. The little town stood near the sea-shore and was composed of two streets which crossed one another. At the point of intersection stood the governor's residence, in front of which was an open space. The houses were mere log-huts, each with its enclosed patch of ground. The town was surrounded by a palisade, and on a hill within its precincts stood a fortified building which served the triple purpose of store-house, citadel, and place of worship. To the south, along the banks of a stream, lay the arable land; while beyond stretched the common pasture, dotted with clumps of woodland. The population numbered less than three hundred. At first the small size of the settlement made a legislative assembly of all freemen possible, but as the colony grew and other townships sprang up, more elaborate constitutional machinery became necessary. In 1638 a representative assembly was formed, the franchise being confined to Church members. Thus the government tended to become a kind of theocracy, and the colony acquired a somewhat self-contained and unprogressive character. Ultimately, in 1691, it was absorbed by its more vigorous neighbour Massachusetts, with which we have next to deal.

Massachusetts. In March, 1629, a number of Puritans, most of whom were men of wealth and education, obtained from the Council of New England the right to make a settlement in the territory under its jurisdiction. They formed themselves into the Massachusetts Bay Company, and established a colony to the north of the settlement made by the Pilgrim Fathers. Their charter was not unlike that which had, in 1609, been granted to the Virginia Company, for the shareholders at home appointed the governor in the colony. But when, in 1630, the shareholders in a body crossed the Atlantic, Massachusetts became an almost independent community. What had thus been organized as a trading company now became an American colony. It had the power even of appointing its own governor, the franchise—as in the Plymouth colony—being limited to Church members. The emigrants had originally considered themselves to be within the pale of the English Church, but they soon renounced their allegiance and became Independents. They adopted a policy of religious intolerance more severe than anything which Puritans in England had been called upon to endure. Their treatment of Quaker immigrants was particularly barbarous. Practices which Puritanism had condemned in England now became penal offences; the wearing of long hair, card-playing and dancing, the use of beaver-hats or gold lace, were all accounted serious crimes. None the less, settlers continued to arrive in large numbers, and Boston, the capital of the colony, became a flourishing town. There is even a story—probably apocryphal—that in 1636 Cromwell and Hampden, despairing of their country, took their passages for America, but were stopped by an Order in Council. After 1640, however, when the triumph of the Puritan party in England had begun, the stream of emigration slackened, and there was even some movement in the reverse direction.

Rhode Island. Meanwhile a young Puritan minister named Roger Williams had been expelled from Massachusetts owing to his heretical opinions, which not only attacked the government of the colony, but also threatened to embroil that government with the authorities at home. He made his way southwards to the shores of Narragansett Bay and there founded the colony of Rhode Island (1636), in which complete religious toleration was allowed.

Connecticut and Newhaven. Other Puritan settlers from Massachusetts had also pushed still farther towards the south and west, and had founded Connecticut (1633) and Newhaven (1638).[1] The Dutch had already planted settlements in these parts, but they were ousted by the influx of Englishmen.

Maine. The New England Council (see p. 25) was dissolved in 1635. Its jurisdiction theoretically had extended as far north as Nova Scotia, and these rather vague rights were divided amongst the members of the Council. To Sir Ferdinando Gorges was granted the district of Maine, and in 1639 he obtained from Charles I. proprietary rights similar to those which had been granted to Lord Baltimore.

New Hampshire. In the same way the adjoining district of New Hampshire was assigned to John Mason; but little was done to develop either of these two colonies, and they were afterwards merged in Massachusetts, although New Hampshire ultimately recovered its independence.

Contrast between New England and Virginia. It should be noticed that the Puritan colonies of New England present a contrast to those of Virginia and Maryland. The former produced no valuable crop, like tobacco, which could find a ready market in England. Their products, such as grain and fish, did not supplement, but rather duplicated, the products of the mother-country. Thus trade tended to

[1] Newhaven remained a separate colony until 1662, when it was merged in Connecticut.

move rather between New England and Virginia or the West Indies than between New England and the homeland. This economic isolation—clean counter to the theories of the day (see page 30)—emphasized the political and religious independence enjoyed by the democratic and Puritan colonies. On the other hand, Virginia and Maryland, with their huge estates owned by planters, their slave labour, and their flourishing trade with the mother-country, tended to be loyalist and aristocratic. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that in this essential contrast between the two types of colony in North America is latent the germ of those differences which two centuries later brought about the Civil War.

The Dutch in North America. England was not the only European power which was colonizing North America. The Dutch were making a determined bid for the chief place among European naval powers. They were already driving the Portuguese out of the East Indies, and were beginning to get into their hands the carrying trade of the world. As early as 1609 an expedition which had been organized by the Dutch East India Company in the hope of finding the north-west passage, and which was led by the English pilot Hudson, discovered the river which still bears his name. About 1626 the city of New Amsterdam, the centre of the New Netherlands settlement, was founded on the site of the modern New York. It occupied an important strategic position at the mouth of the Hudson River, for it commanded the only easy route through the densely wooded Appalachian Highlands. This route led from the Atlantic seaboard direct to the vast waterways of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, which were already in the hands of the French. Thus the Dutch held what might almost be described as the key position of the whole coastal region, and they interposed a barrier which cut off the English colonies of Virginia and Maryland from those farther north.

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The New England Federation. It was the presence of this foreign element, coupled with the continual danger of Indian attacks, which led Connecticut to suggest to Newhaven, Plymouth, and Massachusetts that the four colonies should form a federation. Rhode Island was debarred from joining, not only because it practised the principle of religious toleration, but also because it was still in a backward and unsettled condition. The Federation, which was formed in 1643, succeeded to a considerable extent in attaining the objects for which it had been constituted; but Massachusetts was always the ascendant partner, and when the other colonies attempted to assert their individual rights, friction often resulted. It should be noticed also that, with the exception of this New England Federation, the North American colonies showed little tendency to unite. Each had its own little government and its own special characteristics, and each jealously preserved an independent attitude towards its neighbours, which was fostered by difficulties of intercommunication and frequency of boundary disputes. The colonists owned a double allegiance, first to their own particular provinces, and then to the government in England, but they had as yet no conception of corporate American nationality. That was not fully realized until oppression by the mother-country—or what the colonies regarded as such—united them in a common resistance to her.

The Mercantile System. The distractions of the Civil Wars in England, which tended to decentralize the empire as a whole, gave the Dutch their opportunity for acquiring a supremacy in foreign commerce; to use a contemporary phrase, they became "the wagoners of all seas." Charles I. had made some attempt to foster the navy by the imposition of "ship money"; but the chief result of the tax was to precipitate the Great Rebellion during which Holland forged ahead as a naval power. When, therefore, the

condition of England became more tranquil, Parliament turned its attention to the problem which had arisen. The political economy of the day advocated what is known as the "mercantile system." It was no new theory, for it had been adumbrated as early as the reign of Richard II., but it now appears in its full vigour. The cardinal doctrine of the system was that gold and silver are of the very essence of wealth. Spain had obviously built up her great prosperity on the basis of the precious metals which she obtained from Central and South America, and we have already seen how, throughout the Elizabethan period, the discovery of these metals had been one of the most powerful motives of English expansion; but, as the settlement of North America progressed, it was realized that these hopes were doomed to disappointment. There yet remained another method of increasing the store of gold and silver. If a country could so regulate its trade that the value of exports exceeded that of imports, it would have a "balance of trade" in its favour. In the same way, if the colonies could be made to supply those commodities which the mother-country could not herself produce, it would be unnecessary to pay gold for such goods to foreign nations. We have seen the part which this motive played in the colonization of Virginia. Thus arose the conception of colonies as estates to be exploited for the benefit of the mother-country—a theory which to this day regulates the colonial empires of the French and the Dutch. The goods to be exported had first to be made, and thus home manufactures were encouraged; while the colonies, it was hoped, would supply a market for these manufactured goods, and the resultant trade would foster the growth of a mercantile marine. In this way a self-sufficing commercial empire would be built up.

The Navigation Act of 1651. But with the carrying trade of the world in the hands of the Dutch, the mercantile ideal could never be realized. The products of North America

were carried in Dutch vessels to countries on the Continent of Europe, and in return many commodities which England could not supply were shipped direct from continental ports to the English colonies. To remedy this state of things the "Rump" Parliament in 1651 passed a famous Navigation Act. Amongst its provisions was the stipulation that no goods "of the growth, production, or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America" should be imported into England or her possessions save in vessels owned by Englishmen or by English colonists, and in which the majority of the crew were English subjects. It also provided that no goods were to be imported from any European country save in a ship of that country or in an English ship. This was a direct blow at the Dutch carrying trade, for Holland produced little that was in demand in England, and it led inevitably to the first Dutch War (1652-54). At the same time it reacted somewhat disastrously upon the prosperity of the colonies. It certainly helped to stimulate shipbuilding in New England, for it gave a monopoly to English and colonial shipping; but without Dutch help this was insufficient for colonial trade, and the higher freights which the planter had to pay meant higher prices for colonial produce, and in consequence trade was reduced and profits decreased.

The Navigation Act of 1660. The Restoration involved no change in the economic policy of the day. Charles II., in spite of his obvious faults, was always seriously interested in the growth of English commerce and the colonies. In 1660, therefore, a second Navigation Act was passed supplementing that of Cromwell. It provided that certain "enumerated" goods, including sugar and tobacco, should be exported from a colony only to England or to another colony; and also that all commodities imported into a colony should be sent there from England alone. Foreign merchants were thus compelled to buy colonial products in England, and to sell their

own goods to a colony through English agents; in both cases the mother-country profited by the customs duties which were imposed. The result was to benefit the English merchant and to foster English shipping at the expense of that of the Dutch, for between 1660 and 1688 the numbers of the mercantile fleet were approximately doubled[1]; but, as has been said, the Navigation Acts also tended to injure the colonial producer and helped to sow seeds of discontent which yielded their harvest a hundred years or so later. None the less, the arrangement at the time was generally regarded as a fair one, for in return for the commercial advantages which accrued to England as a result of the Acts, she guaranteed, by means of her fleet and armies, the safety of the North American colonies; and, as subsequent history showed, this was a factor of the highest importance.

Councils for Trade and Plantations. Other attempts to foster commerce with the colonies had been made by the appointment of various committees to inquire into trade conditions. In 1660 Charles II. appointed two Councils, one for Trade and one for the Foreign Plantations, and he showed his interest in colonial affairs by frequently attending their meetings. In 1672 the two assemblies were combined in a single Council for Trade and Plantations, presided over by the Earl of Shaftesbury. The object of this Council was to advise the Secretary of State upon colonial matters; in 1675 it was replaced by a standing committee of the Privy Council, but twenty years later a Council or Board of Trade and Plantations was again constituted by William III.

New York. It proved difficult to enforce the second Navigation Act owing to the presence of the Dutch settle-

[1] Contemporaries called this Navigation Act the "Sea Magna Charta," and the "Charta Maritima." The tonnage of the mercantile marine rose from 95,266 to 190,533 between the Restoration and the Revolution.

ment between New England and Maryland. Cromwell had already planned an attack on it as far back as 1653, but was unable to carry out his design. In 1664, therefore, on the renewal of war between England and the United Netherlands, James, Duke of York and brother of Charles II., attacked New Amsterdam. The town was captured with little difficulty, and was henceforth known as New York.

Delaware. At the same time the neighbouring colony of Delaware, which had been settled by Swedes and Finns as early as 1638, and had subsequently been captured by the Dutch, passed into British hands. Nine years later the Dutch retook New York, but the Peace of Westminster in 1674, which terminated the Dutch Wars, finally confirmed the English in possession of the colony.

The Carolinas. Meanwhile other colonies along the Atlantic seaboard were being formed by the more peaceful method of settlement. In 1663 the region lying between Virginia and Florida was granted by Charles II. to a body of proprietors, chief among whom were Lord Albemarle and Sir Anthony Ashley, afterwards the Earl of Shaftesbury. This district as far back as 1629 had been assigned by Charles I. to Sir Robert Heath, but nothing had hitherto been done to develop it. Two groups of settlements were now made; those on the Albemarle Sound formed the nucleus of Northern Carolina (1663), while those planted on the harbour of Charleston developed into Southern Carolina (1670). The progress of the former colony was very slow. The climate was unhealthy; there were few harbours; the settlers were for the most part men who had already proved failures in the other colonies; and few commodities of value were produced until the eighteenth century, when a trade in tar and pitch was built up. But South Carolina developed the cultivation of rice and cotton. The climate made European labour impossible, and thus the population of the colony consisted exclusively of two classes

—the white planter and the negro, or (to a smaller extent) the Indian slave. An elaborate constitution for the Carolinas was drawn up; it included an hereditary nobility and other features impossible of realization in a settlement of scattered planters. It has been attributed to the English philosopher John Locke; but its author knew little of the actual conditions of the colony, and the government which was ultimately set up had much in common with that which had already been established in Virginia. A characteristic of the Carolinas was their adoption of the principle of religious toleration.

New Jersey. After the conquest of the New Netherlands the Duke of York, who had been granted proprietary rights over the conquered territory, made over the southern portion of it to two of his favourites—Berkeley and Carteret. Thus a new colony was formed, stretching from the mouth of the Hudson to the River Delaware; it received the name of New Jersey (1665), and was at first divided between its proprietors into an eastern and a western section. Subsequently Berkeley and Carteret disposed of their rights, and the colony came into the possession chiefly of some Quakers. Among them was William Penn, whose father, Admiral Penn, had helped to effect the restoration of Charles II. For these services a sum of £16,000 was owing to him; but it had never been paid during the Admiral's lifetime, and the claim was therefore inherited by his son. William Penn was eager to establish a new colony where his theories of government might be put into practice more fully than was possible in New Jersey. He did not find it difficult to induce Charles II. to commute the money payment due to him for a "tract of land in America, lying north of Maryland, on the east bounded with Delaware River, on the west limited as Maryland, and northward to extend as far as plantable."

Pennsylvania. In 1682 some 3,000 Quakers emigrated to this new settlement, which was named Pennsylvania.

At the same time Philadelphia was founded, and the colony entered upon a career of almost unbroken prosperity. Although the clearing of the forests involved some difficulty, agriculture was vigorously prosecuted and foodstuffs were produced in abundance. An export trade in timber, grain, and furs sprang up, and the local supplies of coal, iron, and wood fostered shipbuilding and manufactures. A markedly democratic constitution was established; the native Indians were well treated, education was developed, while slavery was almost unknown. A steady stream of immigration flowed into the colony for many years; amongst those who found a refuge in Pennsylvania were large numbers of German Protestants who had been driven from their homes in the Palatinate during the War of the Spanish Succession.

Unrest in New England. Towards the end of Charles II.'s reign the independent spirit of the New England colonies gave rise to some alarm on the part of the home government, and it was felt that they should be united for defensive and administrative purposes. In 1684, therefore, the charter of Massachusetts was annulled, and on the accession of James II. —who had himself been a colonial proprietor and was doubtless responsible for this whole incident—Connecticut, Rhode Island, Plymouth, and New York were similarly treated. The whole district from the St. Croix River to the Delaware was united into a single province directly dependent on the Crown, and representative government was abolished. Sir Edmund Andros was appointed as Governor; he had formerly held a similar post in New York, but without conspicuous success. Naturally there was considerable resistance on the part of the colonists, but a crisis was averted by the Revolution of 1688-89. The charters were restored, but henceforth Plymouth was incorporated with Massachusetts. The action of James II. had doubtless been well-meaning, but it showed an utter lack of appreciation of the local point of view; while the situation was

complicated by the excited exaggerations of the colonists and the tactless and half-hearted measures of the honest but not very intelligent, Andros. Altogether the position had much in common with that which, eighty years later, led to the revolt of the American colonies; and had it not been for the collapse of the Stuart *régime* in England, an armed outbreak on the part of the colonists would probably have been inevitable.

Georgia. The settlement of Georgia, the last of the original thirteen colonies of North America, belongs to a later epoch, but it may conveniently be dealt with here. It owed its origin to General Oglethorpe, who had been chairman of a Parliamentary Committee for investigating the state of prisons. His experience led him to believe that insolvent debtors and similar unfortunates who were left to languish in English gaols might redeem their failure if they were given a new start in a distant colony. In 1732 he obtained a grant of territory lying between South Carolina and Florida, the latter country being still in Spanish hands. The venture was supported by a subsidy of £10,000 voted by Parliament—a unique instance in the history of English expansion of a government grant in aid of a proposed colony. The settlement made gradual headway, for the original colonists were joined by foreign immigrants. A silk industry sprang up, and the vine was cultivated. Although slavery had been discountenanced by Oglethorpe, the climate made European labour almost impossible; and the system, once introduced, soon became recognized.

The French in North America. We have seen how the mercantile system and the result of the Dutch Wars operated in favour of England's commerce and built up her sea-power. Holland henceforth ceases to be a dangerous menace to English expansion, but her place is taken by another rival. The French, as early as the sixteenth century, had organized voyages of discovery, and made attempts at colonization in

North America. In 1524 a French expedition, led by the Florentine pilot Verrazano, had coasted along the Atlantic seaboard from Florida to Newfoundland. In three voyages between 1534 and 1542 Jacques Cartier explored the mouth of the St. Lawrence. But the French, like the English, had no colonies before the seventeenth century. In 1605 a settlement was made at Port Royal (afterwards called Annapolis), on the Bay of Fundy; it was raided and captured in 1613 by an expedition sent out from Virginia. A more permanent colony was planted in 1608, when Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec. In 1627 the Company of New France was established by Richelieu. Disregarding the existing English colonies, its charter granted jurisdiction over all the lands surveyed by Verrazano a hundred years before. This claim did not, as a matter of fact, affect the English settlements; but in 1621 a group of Scottish adventurers had obtained from James I. a licence to settle in the district known as Acadia, which they renamed Nova Scotia, or New Scotland. No effective colony was established; but when war broke out between England and France in 1627, the settlers of the belligerent powers soon joined issue. An expedition which was despatched in 1629 captured Quebec, and for a while French dominion in North America came to an end. But by the Treaty of St. Germains in 1632 the *status quo ante bellum* was restored, and the French were free to continue the work which they had begun.

The Progress of Canada. The progress of Canada was slow, for the Company of New France did not encourage emigration and the development of agriculture; it aimed rather at the establishment of trading-stations in order to obtain furs from the Indians. But with the administration of Colbert, French expansion in North America took on a new lease of life. He was an economist and financier of the first rank. One of his chief aims was to develop the manufactures of his country, and he therefore looked to the French

settlements in North America as a source of raw materials. In 1674, therefore, the reign of the chartered company was brought to an end, and henceforth Canada is governed directly by the Crown and its officials. This system affords an interesting contrast with that of the neighbouring English colonies. Although in the case of the latter, the governor was appointed from home, the settlements were to a great extent left to manage their own affairs; thus the English colonists tended to develop a self-reliant character. But in the French colonies there was no shadow of self-government; a feudal *régime* like that of the mother-country was set up, and even the most insignificant details of life were regulated by the officials of the Crown. It is said that at one time a French settler could not even sell a cow without a special order from Paris.

None the less, from this time onwards the progress of Canada was more rapid. In 1668 and the following years La Salle had explored the Great Lakes and in 1673 the Jesuit Marquette reached the Mississippi. Under the orders of Frontenac, the statesmanlike governor of Canada, La Salle pushed southwards down the great river and eventually, in 1682, reached its mouth. A new colony—Louisiana—was established in this region and it was linked up with the French settlements farther north by a chain of forts.

The Jesuits in Canada. The real pioneers of this French expansion in North America were missionaries of the Society of Jesus. With magnificent heroism they pushed out into the unknown, exploring the land and converting the natives as they went. It is indeed instructive to contrast the attitude of these Jesuit missionaries towards the Indians with that displayed by the English Puritan settlers of the Atlantic seaboard. The former invariably treated the natives with kindness, whereas the Puritans, inspired perhaps by Old Testament history, regarded the

Indians as sons of Amalek whom they were to destroy in the name of the Lord. The underlying reason was that the English colonists settled down on farms or estates which they cultivated, and this process involved the dispossession of the natives; whereas the French, who were primarily interested in fur-trading or in missions, had everything to gain by winning the friendship of the Indians. At the same time Jesuit influences in French North America were a source of weakness. No heretic was allowed to settle there, and the Huguenots, who formed a considerable part of the industrial classes in France, and also included many of the sailors and merchants of the Biscayan coast, were thus deliberately excluded from Canada. In this way a class which would have stiffened and strengthened French colonization was driven—particularly after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685—to find a home outside the French dominions, and many of these exiled Huguenots settled down in the English colonies of North America. The English government encouraged this immigration because it desired as far as possible to keep the best type of Englishman at home. According to the beliefs of the day, "people mean wealth," and a drain of population from England to the colonies would weaken the mother-country. Hence arose the tendency to restrict emigration as far as possible to "undesirables," such as criminals, paupers, and religious nonconformists, or to foreigners such as these French Huguenots.

Weaknesses of French Canada. In spite, then, of the able administration of Colbert in the home-country, and of Frontenac in Canada, the French colonies had inherent weaknesses which became more apparent as time went on. Owing to the fur-trade, agriculture was to some extent neglected, and at times it was difficult even to obtain sufficient supplies of food. Again, the colonies tended to be handicapped by Louis XIV.'s European wars; it was

hardly possible for France to win a great land empire, and at the same time to develop a great colonial dominion overseas. None the less, it seemed obvious that she aimed at hemming in the English colonies from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to that of the Mississippi and ultimately at conquering the whole of the Atlantic seaboard north of Florida. The English settlements had the advantage of geographical unity, especially after the capture of the New Netherlands; and being based on the sea, they were in a strong position so long as England maintained her naval supremacy.

The Hudson Bay Company. Meanwhile, on the north side of Canada, English outposts had already been planted on the coasts of Hudson Bay. Attempts to find the north-west passage had been revived in the early part of the seventeenth century, the most noteworthy being those of Hudson (1607-11) and Baffin (1615-16); but these voyages served merely to open up a route to the fur-producing region round Hudson Bay. In 1670 a Hudson Bay Company was incorporated, and its area of activity was named Rupertsland in honour of Prince Rupert, Charles II.'s cousin, and the chief promoter of the enterprise. Trading-stations, called "forts" or "factories," were erected. The English were better supplied than the French with goods which had been manufactured in the home-country and could be exchanged for furs; and the Company made such progress that much of the Indian fur-trade, which had hitherto been carried on with the French, was now diverted to the English traders. Desultory fighting between the two parties went on during the reigns of Charles II. and James II.; and this collision between French and English colonial interests in North America is of interest as foreshadowing future events. The great struggle was yet to come; but from what has been said it can perhaps be realized that the conflict was inevitable.

III.—THE WEST INDIES AND WEST AFRICA.

Early Settlements in the West Indies. Columbus in 1492 had made his landfall upon one of the West India islands, and during the sixteenth century the Spaniards, subject to the incursions of Elizabethan adventurers, were supreme in the archipelago. But they colonized only the larger of the islands—*e.g.*, Cuba and Hispaniola—and the smaller ones were therefore left open to occupation by other powers. In 1605 the English made an attempt to colonize Barbados (about the size of the Isle of Wight), but no effective settlement was achieved until 1624. Thenceforward the colony prospered exceedingly; the political discontents in England induced many Royalist gentlemen to emigrate to the island and to invest their capital in its sugar plantations. Labour was supplied partly by negro slaves from West Africa and partly also by white bond-servants. The latter class included prisoners taken during the Civil Wars, in Cromwell's Irish campaign, in Monmouth's rebellion and in the Jacobite risings. To these were added transported criminals and unfortunates who had been kidnapped in the great cities of England. These white slaves suffered greatly owing to the tropical climate and the harshness with which they were treated, and it ultimately proved more profitable to rely exclusively upon negro labour.

Seventeenth-century Acquisitions in the West Indies. Other West Indian islands were added to the English Empire during the first half of the seventeenth century—*e.g.*, St. Kitts and others of the Leeward Islands (1623-40). In the Windward group the opposition of the French had to be encountered, but finally St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincent, and other islands, after a chequered career, fell into English hands. A settlement on the mainland of Central America was also made in 1640, and from it the modern colony of

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British Honduras ultimately developed. In 1670 the Bahamas were granted to the proprietors of the Carolina Company, which, however, did little to colonize them. The group degenerated into a resort of pirates, who were not suppressed until 1718.

The Darien Scheme. Mention may also be made here of the Darien Scheme, by which a Scottish company was incorporated in 1695 for the purpose of securing a monopoly of trade with the Far East *via* the Isthmus of Darien (Panama). Scotchmen were at this time debarred from joining the English trading companies[1] and many therefore supported the scheme. But the Scotch merchants had no suitable manufactures to send to a tropical country, and practically no fleet of their own; also they did not take into account the unhealthiness of the climate and the opposition of the Spaniards to whom Darien belonged; and thus the whole project came to a premature and disastrous conclusion.

Jamaica. Jamaica had nominally been claimed by Spain, but little had been done to make her occupation effective. In 1654 Cromwell—a keen imperialist who had inherited the Elizabethan anti-Roman Catholic tradition, and who wished to free English commerce between the home-country and the West Indies from the danger of Spanish attacks—organized an expedition which aimed at driving Spain out of her American possessions. But the Spanish colonies had been considerably strengthened since the time of Drake. An assault on Hispaniola, the Spanish headquarters in the West Indies, seriously miscarried; and in order to retrieve their failure Admiral Penn (father of William Penn) and General Venables, the leaders of the expedition, seized

[1] This disability was finally removed after the Union in 1707. The Protectorate had given Scotland free trade with England, but this was taken away at the Restoration. Scottish traders were excluded from the benefits of the Navigation Act, and of course could not join English trading companies.

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Jamaica. The island thus became the first addition to the British Empire to be made by conquest from a foreign power. Although at the time it was regarded as of little value, an attempt was made to develop it and before long sugar became its staple product.

The settlement of the West Indian colonies harmonized well with the mercantile theories of the day. They supplied sugar, cacao, indigo, and other exotic products which could be exchanged for the manufactures and foodstuffs of the mother-country. They also furnished the North American colonies with a market for grain and for the timber out of which sugar casks were made. Moreover, their demand for slave-labour encouraged trade with West Africa.

Buccaneering in the West Indies. During the latter part of the seventeenth century the Caribbean Sea was the scene of much buccaneering. The pirates were desperadoes of many nationalities, but the English and French authorities connived at their atrocities because they helped to break the power of Spain. One of these buccaneers, Henry Morgan, who in 1671 had sacked and burnt the town of Panama, was knighted by Charles II. and for a time acted as Governor of Jamaica. Another ex-pirate, named Dampier, was sent out in 1699 by the Admiralty to explore in Australian waters,[1] and he thus became the forerunner of the famous Captain Cook. None the less, the buccaneers tended so to disorganize government and to militate against peaceable trade and settlement, that before the end of the century the civilized powers combined to suppress them.

The West African Slave-Trade. From what has been said with regard to the demand for negro slave-labour in the West Indies, it will be realized that the development of these islands is closely connected with that of West Africa, where slavery from time immemorial had been inherent in the organization of society. The English slave-trade dates

[1] See below, p. 310.

back to the time of John Hawkins (see p. 13); but although the Dutch for a while supplied America with slaves, no other Englishmen engaged in this traffic until nearly a hundred years later. At last attempts were begun to compete with the Dutch and so to free the English colonies from the danger of having to rely upon foreign traders for slaves. After several abortive attempts the Royal African Company was incorporated in 1672. Its career on the whole was not very successful. It aimed at the establishment of forts from which trade could be carried on, and not at the development of colonies or settlements. Slave-hunting militated against legitimate trade in gold and ivory; and the competition of the Dutch and French—not to mention that of Danes, Swedes, and Brandenburgers—as well as the presence of English interlopers, all increased the difficulties of the Company. As a matter of fact the monopoly which it claimed had never been sanctioned by Parliament, and in 1698 the African trade was definitely declared to be free. Nevertheless, the slave-trade as a whole flourished. The Guinea Coast was easily accessible from England and the prevalent north-east trade-winds made the voyage from the African coast to the West Indies —the "middle passage," as it was called—a safe and easy one. The unfortunate negroes were crammed between decks with an utter disregard for the most elementary laws of hygiene. The mortality among them was very high, but even so the traffic proved profitable. Moreover, offensive as is the slave-trade to the modern mind, the conscience of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was far less sensitive on the subject than was that of the age of Pitt and Wilberforce. As a matter of fact, the cultivation of sugar and cotton in the West Indies and southern North America could hardly have succeeded without this institution. To this day these commodities are produced by free labourers who for the most part are directly descended from

West African slaves. While, therefore, we may fully realize and heartily condemn the degradation which slavery involves alike for the slave-owner and for those who are enslaved, we can perhaps recognize the importance of the part which this institution has played in the development of the West Indies and the warmer regions of North America.

IV.—THE ENGLISH IN INDIA.

English and Dutch in the East. We have already seen (p. 18) how, at the end of Elizabeth's reign, the newly formed East India Company, in spite of Dutch opposition, began a trade with the Malay Archipelago. Its rivals had the advantage of being first in the field and of being strongly supported by the home government; the fleet of the Dutch Company also far outnumbered that of the English corporation. While the Elizabethan sea-dogs had busied themselves with raiding Spanish colonies and plundering plate-fleets, the "canny" Dutch had devoted all their energies to obtaining complete and undisputed control of the spice trade of the East Indies. They had already harried the Portuguese and broken up their power; and now they opposed the English with equal bitterness. The two companies were at war by 1612, and the English traders were forcibly expelled from the Moluccas. In 1619 a treaty was signed whereby James I. completely betrayed the interests of the East India Company; the English were made to contribute to the fortification of posts which might be used by both nations, but which were to be under Dutch control. The result might have been expected. English factors were treated with contempt by their rivals, and the situation culminated in the massacre of Amboyna (1623), where some Englishmen were tortured and executed on the falsified charge of having conspired with some Japanese against the local governor. This judicial murder raised a storm of indignation in England

and was largely responsible for the English hatred of the Dutch during the middle of the seventeenth century; but no reparation was exacted until the time of Cromwell. From 1623 onwards, although the English still retained a few stations in the Malay Archipelago, the Dutch had practically the monopoly of East Indian trade, and they have retained control of it down to the present day. The East India Company was thus driven to find commercial openings in the East where the opposition of the Dutch was not so powerful; and it was for this reason that they were led to develop their trade with the peninsula of India itself.

India's Geographical Unity. It should be clearly realized that there was no one Indian nation. The whole country comprises a mass of peoples differing widely among themselves in origin, language, religion, and institutions; moreover, these peoples are often not divided one from another by definite boundaries, but are inextricably mingled. The only natural unity which India has is a geographical one. The peninsula is shut off on the north side by a mountain wall, impassable almost everywhere save in the north-west. The lack of unity among the peoples of India has on many occasions in the course of history induced invaders to descend through these passes of the north-west upon the rich plains of the Ganges and Indus. Thus India has always been liable to foreign attacks. But it was not until the arrival of the European that India became vulnerable from the sea. The Portuguese, following up the work of Vasco da Gama, planted trading-stations on the coast of India, their headquarters being at Goa, which Albuquerque, the founder of their maritime empire, had captured in 1510. Thus, before the East India Company could establish itself on the peninsula, it was necessary first to overcome Portuguese opposition, just as the Dutch had already been obliged to overcome that opposition in the Malay Archipelago.

English and Portuguese in India. In 1612 the English determined to challenge the Portuguese monopoly. Captain Best, in command of two ships, encountered a fleet of four Portuguese galleons and some twenty smaller "grabs and gallivats." The unequal contest took place at Swally Roads off Surat, and it raged intermittently for over a month. In the end the Portuguese were completely defeated, and retired to Goa. A similar conflict took place in the same waters in 1615, when Captain Nicholas Downton, with four ships, beat off eleven galleons aided by no less than sixty barges filled with soldiers. These two victories broke the back of the resistance which Portugal could offer in the East, and before long all her energies were called away to her struggle for independence against Spain, which was finally achieved in 1640.

The Mughal Empire. The chief power in India at this period was that of the Mughal Emperor, who held all the territory north of the Satpura Range, including also the province of Ahmadnagar and extending as far east as Assam. The dynasty had been set up by an invader from Central Asia named Baber, who died in 1530. The Mughal Empire reached its zenith under a strong and enlightened ruler named Akbar, who was a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth; but his successor, Jehangir (1605-27), was a weak and luxurious prince, whose court was a hotbed of flattery and corruption.

Early Factories in India. In the same year as that in which Downton had won his victory at Swally Roads, Sir Thomas Roe arrived at the court of Jehangir as ambassador from James I. He obtained important concessions for the East India Company; but in his journal, which has been preserved and published, he speaks of the difficulty of negotiating a "treaty" in the European sense of the term. Attempts had already been made by the Company to establish a trading-station at Surat, the chief port of the Moghul Empire, where the Dutch and Portuguese already had

factories; but hitherto the opposition of the latter had rendered its existence precarious. By this time, however, the exploits of Best and Downton had duly impressed the Indian authorities; English trading privileges were therefore confirmed, and the Indian trade began to prosper. Commerce with Persia also began to be "enterprised" *via* India by English merchants. In 1622 a factory was established at Masulipatam near the mouth of the Kistna; it was at that time outside the Mughal's sovereignty, but it was soon overshadowed by Madras. The latter town grew up round Fort St. George, which had been founded in 1639 by Francis Day, one of the Company's officers, on a small island purchased from a Hindu chief. In 1633 settlements were made at Pipli in Orissa—a town now left inland by the sea—and in 1640 on the Hughli, one of the distributaries of the Ganges. On the occasion of his marriage with Catherine of Braganza in 1661, Charles II. had received Bombay from the Portuguese. In 1668 he handed it over to the East India Company, to be held at a rent of £10 a year. Its unhealthiness for long made it a difficult post to maintain, but eventually it displaced Surat as the chief English factory on the west coast of India.[1] Finally, in 1690, Fort William was built on the site of the modern Calcutta. Thus, before the end of the seventeenth century, the English had already acquired what were destined to become, under British rule, the three chief cities of India.

The Factory at Surat. The settlements of the East India Company centred in the factory. At Surat, for example, it consisted of a square fortified building enclosing a courtyard. The civil servants of the Company, who lived in this building, were of four grades—apprentices, writers, factors, and merchants. They were governed by a president, who was assisted by four members of council chosen from

[1] The transference was largely due to Maratha attacks on Surat (see p. 50). Bombay, being on an island, was more secure.

the senior merchants—a system which contains the germ of British government in India to-day. The merchandise for which the Company traded was stored, except during the rains, in an open space near the factory. The Hindu traders, or Banyans, received goods from their agents in distant parts of India and supplied them to the English traders, charging a commission on every sale. They were a peaceable folk who abstained from animal food; and thus arose the term "banyan day" for a day on which no meat is eaten.

Contrast between English settlements in North America and in India. The early settlements which the English made in India offer a striking contrast with those in North America. The Indian settlements were mere factories, sometimes not even fortified, planted by a trading company solely for the purpose of commerce. The climate of India has always made prolonged residence difficult for Europeans, and it militates strongly against the rearing of European children. Hence India has never been, and perhaps never can be, a British "colony." But in North America similarity of climate and products helps to make the immigrant feel at home, and the essential features of life in the mother-country are at once reproduced. The colonist settles down with his family and has no intention of returning permanently to his native land. In the case of North America, also, the country was to a large extent unoccupied, and its aboriginal inhabitants—so it is said—numbered no more when the land was first colonized than they do to-day. Hence it was not difficult to effect territorial settlement by comparatively peaceful means. In India, on the other hand, the directors of the Company were extremely reluctant to take any step which might lead to the acquisition of territory, for fear that expense might be involved and their dividends reduced. When Francis Day laid the foundations of Madras, he was formally "blamed to be the

first projector of the fort of St. George." The policy of the Company was obviously to avoid interference with local potentates, and it desired merely to be allowed to trade in peace.

The French in India. Towards the end of the seventeenth century two factors came into being which were destined to change completely this state of affairs. The power of the Mughals began to wane, and after the death in 1707 of the last great emperor Aurangzeb, his dominions fell into confusion and rapidly broke up. During the anarchy which ensued a new power arose in India—that of the Maratha chiefs from the Deccan; and out of the resulting welter and confusion most of the modern "native states" emerged. More significant even than the rise of the Marathas was the arrival of the French in India. In 1664 Colbert had founded the French East and West India Company, and ten years later Pondicherri, a hundred miles south of Madras, became a fortified trading-station. In 1675 another French settlement was made at Chandernagore, near Calcutta. Like the English, the French entered India as traders; and although there was much jealousy between the merchants of the two nations, it was not until the arrival of Dupleix that French interference with local politics so reacted upon the position of the English that the whole situation was revolutionized.

The Troubles of the East India Company. The great prosperity of the East India Company in the latter half of the seventeenth century induced many interlopers to enter into competition with it. Some of them were little better than pirates, and thus the Company was made to suffer for outrages upon Indian princes for which it was in no way responsible. Intense bitterness was aroused and the Company appealed against the interlopers, but the House of Commons was ill-disposed towards the corporation because it had sought to gain its ends by wholesale bribery

of public men; and in 1694, therefore, it was decided that "all subjects of England have equal right to trade to the East Indies unless prohibited by Act of Parliament." Subsequently an entirely new "General Company" was floated in opposition to the existing London Company. For some years rivalry between them flourished; but in 1708 they were amalgamated under the title of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

The Treaty of Utrecht. From 1689 to 1697 England had been involved in the War of the Grand Alliance. The aim of the allies was to check the European ascendancy at which France, under the lead of Louis XIV., was aiming. England and Holland, now united under the Protestant King William III., had won some victories at sea; but France was still supreme on land, and the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) was little more than a truce. In 1702 the War of the Spanish Succession broke out. England's main object was to prevent the possibility of a king of France becoming heir to the throne of Spain, and thereby master not merely of Spain itself, but also of the Spanish Netherlands and the Spanish possessions in Central and South America. The war ended with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the effect of which was to make England the first power in Europe. Her supremacy at sea was undisputed, and her commerce was worldwide. It is noteworthy that her gains were almost wholly colonial. In North America France surrendered to her Acadia (Nova Scotia) and Newfoundland; while England's claim to the settlements round Hudson Bay was formally recognized. In Europe, Gibraltar and Minorca, both of which had been captured during the war, were confirmed to England. By an accompanying treaty with Spain she was granted the Assiento Compact, which had formerly been given to France; by it England obtained the monopoly of importing negro slaves into

Spanish America, and at the same time she acquired the right to send every year a ship to Panama for purposes of general trade.

England's Position in 1713. The year 1713, then, is a date of much significance in the history of English expansion. Portuguese opposition in the East has been overcome. Spain is no longer a formidable rival at sea, and even the jealously guarded trade monopoly with her American possessions has been breached by the Assiento. Holland, though still vigorous, has exhausted much of her energies in her struggle for existence against Spain and France, and never afterwards is she able seriously to menace England's maritime supremacy. France for the time being is eclipsed; but a long period of peace, during which she develops her settlements in North America and obtains a firm footing in India, makes her once more a formidable rival. It is left for the eighteenth century to decide whether North America and India are to fall under the power of the French or of the English.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AT THE PEACE OF UTRECHT (1713).

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BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

(*Since* 1713)

I.—ENGLISH OCCUPATION OF NORTH AMERICA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Extent and Population of English Colonies. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, English occupation of North America had not extended much beyond the tide-water region of the Atlantic coast. The twelve English Colonies in 1713 extended along the seaboard for over a thousand miles, from Casco Bay, Maine, in the north to Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, in the south. The number of colonists may be roughly estimated at from two hundred thousand to two hundred and fifty thousand. Massachusetts, including Plymouth and Maine, was the largest of the northern colonies, containing about fifty thousand. Of the southern colonies Virginia, the oldest, was also the largest, containing between fifty and sixty thousand. Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston were the principal ports for colonial trade. The bulk of this trade was with the West Indies, though all the colonies depended on England to a large extent for manufactured goods. New England trade was principally in fish, fur, and lumber. Rum which was manufactured from West Indian molasses was also an important article of commerce, and was obtained in exchange for fish and lumber. In the

middle colonies, lumber, tobacco, corn, and cattle were the staples of trade; in the southern colonies, rice, indigo, and, later, cotton. The abundance of cheap land caused a scarcity of labour, since practically every free white could become a landowner for himself. In the southern colonies, therefore, negro slaves were employed on the tobacco and rice plantations. Criminals and political prisoners were also transported from England to the colonies to serve as bondservants. Georgia, the last of the thirteen colonies, founded in 1732, was settled by the philanthropist Oglethorpe from the debtors' prisons of England. The English colonies were, in the main, stable agricultural communities. There were few roads in any of them at this time, and none from one colony to another, so that all travel or trade to a distance was by water. The difficulty of travel, the lack of means of communication, and the consequent isolation of the various colonies, fostered a spirit of local pride and self-dependence; but it made the co-operation of the colonies for their common defence against the French and their Indian allies a very difficult problem.

II.—FRENCH OCCUPATION OF NORTH AMERICA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Extent and Population of French Colonies. The territory occupied by the French in North America, while having less than half the population of the English colonies, was vastly greater in area. The explorations of Joliet, Marquette, and La Salle, in the previous century had given France control of the great natural waterways which afforded easy access to the very heart of the continent. Thanks to the daring and hardihood of these men, France claimed not only Canada—*i.e.*, the region from the mouth of the St. Lawrence *west* to the head of the Great Lakes—but also Louisiana,

which extended from the upper reaches of the Ohio and Missouri Rivers *south* to where the waters of the great Mississippi empty into the Gulf of Mexico. But the discovery of the sources of the mighty St. Lawrence and Mississippi systems lured France on to grasp more than she could hold. This was the fundamental weakness of French occupation. She did not have the settlers to plant these regions, and no colony could become great or strong without sufficient numbers. The religious bigotry which prevented the exiled Huguenot from finding a permanent home in New France was largely to blame for this serious lack. The Huguenots made admirable colonists. They possessed much of the stability and character of the Puritans who had founded New England. But instead of settling in New France, where they would have built up stable and thriving communities, thousands of these religious exiles found homes in the rival English colonies of Carolina, and so were for ever lost to France. In Canada, around Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, there were small agricultural communities. But the "courier de bois"—*i.e.*, the French trapper and hunter—rather than the farmer, was the predominating type. The big returns from the fur trade, and the free, roving life of the Indian connected with its pursuit, seemed best suited to the restless, adventurous spirit of the Frenchman.

Strategic Position of French Occupation. Though France could not settle the vast interior of the continent which had been discovered, it had been La Salle's daring plan to link Louisiana to Canada by a chain of forts and trading-posts situated at strategic points along the natural waterways of the interior. This would cut off the trade of the English colonies with the interior, prevent their westward expansion, and confine them to a narrow strip along the Atlantic seaboard. On the other hand, it would give France the monopoly of trade with the Indians and absolute

control over this vast area extending from the Gulf of St. Lawrence west and south to the Gulf of Mexico. French pretensions to control the region around the mouth of the Mississippi were opposed by Spain, whose claims were based on previous explorations. Spain occupied Florida; and for many years the town of St. Augustine, on the Atlantic coast, was a thorn in the side of the English colonists. In order to establish French claims to control the mouth of the Mississippi, Bienville, in 1718, founded the city of New Orleans. This was the beginning of the settlement of Louisiana by the French. To offset French activities, the Spaniards founded the town of Pensacola on the Gulf of Mexico.

Acadia and North-Eastern Frontier the Storm-Centre. By the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, France had ceded Acadia to England. But this by no means settled the question of English supremacy on the north-eastern frontier, which remained the storm-centre of North America for the next thirty-five years. There are several important reasons why the centre of conflict remained on the north-eastern rather than on the western frontier. (1) The frontier settlements of the New England colonies were the nearest to New France, and most exposed to attack. (2) On the other hand, the middle and southern English colonies were protected from French aggression by the presence of the powerful Iroquois Confederacy, which served as a buffer-state on their north-western frontiers. The territory claimed by the Iroquois Confederacy was very great, extending west from the frontiers of New York to the Mississippi River, south to the Ohio, and north to the shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario. Both France and England had made great efforts to win the friendship of this powerful Indian organization. But geography and economic factors favoured England. The English trader could bring his goods up the Hudson River from New York to Albany and sell them

more cheaply than the French trader, who had to bring his goods all the way from Canada. For the same reason English rum was cheaper and more plentiful than French brandy. Failing to win the friendship of the Iroquois, the French had repeatedly tried to crush them. But the terrible massacre of Lachine in 1689 had shown what the Iroquois could do in retaliation. By the Treaty of Utrecht, France had finally been compelled to acknowledge the Iroquois as England's subjects. (3) A third reason why the north-eastern frontier remained the centre of conflict was that, by the Treaty of Utrecht, France had been allowed to keep Cape Breton Island. Here there arose the formidable fortress of Louisbourg, which dominated the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the trade routes of the New England colonies to the south. The fine harbour of Louisbourg also provided an excellent base near the coveted Newfoundland fisheries, where the French, also by the treaty of 1713, had retained certain fishing rights.

The Acadians. But in spite of the menace of Louisbourg to English interests on the northern frontier and in Acadia, England made no attempt to settle the country, while the defences of Annapolis were allowed to fall into a ruinous condition. The French inhabitants of Acadia never regarded the English occupation as permanent, and the failure of England either to settle or to garrison the country encouraged this belief. As a result, the Acadians were constantly intriguing with the French at Louisbourg, who encouraged them to withhold their full allegiance from England by promises of reconquering the country.

The War of Austrian Succession, 1744-48. When the War of the Austrian Succession broke out in Europe in 1744, the New Englanders determined to seize this opportunity of destroying the menace of Louisbourg. In colonial history this is known as King George's War, and it lasted down to 1748. Governor Shirley of Massachusetts organized a

splendid body of colonial troops, to which New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island made a more or less grudging contribution. The middle and southern English colonies were not directly threatened, and so gave no assistance. They were also jealous of the commercial prosperity of the thrifty, aggressive New Englander. Massachusetts, therefore, deserves most of the credit for the capture of Louisbourg in 1745 by Colonel William Pepperell, after a siege of forty-seven days. But the elation in Massachusetts over their hard-won victory was soon turned to indignation when, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which closed the war in 1748, Louisbourg was restored to France in return for Madras in India.

The protests of Governor Shirley at last roused the English government to take some definite steps to offset French influence at Louisbourg, and to hold in check the Acadians, who were still unreconciled to English rule. In 1749, therefore, a military settlement, composed largely of disbanded soldiers, was founded by Governor Cornwallis at Halifax.

English Expansion westward. After 1749 the storm-centre shifted from Acadia to the valley of the Ohio River on the western frontier. English expansion westward from the seaboard settlements across the Alleghany Mountains into the back country of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas was beginning to challenge French claims to the interior of the continent. As early as 1682, when La Salle made his memorable voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi, he had found traces of English traders in the interior. But by 1749 the English were beginning to realize the possibilities of settlement in this vast hinterland into which only the fur trader or trapper as yet had penetrated. In 1749 two land companies were organized to plant colonies in the Ohio valley.. Between them the two companies received a grant of some 1,300,000 acres, in return for which a certain number of colonists were to be settled and provision made for their

defence. The original purpose of these two land companies was not carried out because of the conflicting claims of Virginia and Pennsylvania to this territory, a difficulty which retarded actual settlement for a number of years. Nevertheless, this was the prelude of a slow but sure tide of western immigration which France must either stem or go down before.

French block English Expansion. In order to block English expansion, Bienville was sent out in 1749 to take formal possession of the Ohio River and its tributaries. This he did with due ceremony, burying leaden plates at different strategic points along his course to establish French claims. In 1753, Governor Duquesne prepared to defend these claims by building a chain of forts connecting Lake Erie and the St. Lawrence river system with the Alleghany River, which was a tributary of the Ohio River. Fort Presqu'île on Lake Erie and Fort Venango on the Upper Alleghany were accordingly constructed. In 1754 the French pushed still farther south and built Fort Duquesne at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers, where a number of English traders were driven off. The southern English colonies could no longer regard French aggression with indifference. Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, promptly sent out young George Washington, then an officer and surveyor in the colonial militia, to warn off the French. Washington was met by a superior French force and compelled to surrender. The French now held the Ohio valley. This was the beginning of the final struggle between France and England for North America.

The Albany Congress, 1754. The defeat of Washington and seizure of "the forks of the Ohio" by France produced considerable concern in England. The most dangerous feature of the situation was the effect that an English reverse would have on the waning loyalty of the Iroquois and of the other tribes still farther west. In 1753 the British Board of Trade

and Plantations directed the colonial Governors to appoint representatives to meet with representatives from the various Indian tribes at a conference to be held at Albany, N.Y., in 1754. Though the questions to be discussed by the Albany Congress were of vital interest to all the colonies, nevertheless Virginia, New Jersey, the Carolinas, and Georgia, either because of neglect or jealousy, sent no representatives at all. However, the Congress negotiated satisfactory treaties with the Iroquois, with whom it was essential to remain on good terms, and their representatives were sent away laden with presents and fair promises of protection from the French. After the problem of a common Indian policy had been settled, the Albany Congress discussed the question of a closer union of the colonies for their better defence and government.

Plan of Union; its Failure. Though the delegates present were all agreed as to the necessity of this, they had great difficulty in agreeing on how it was to be accomplished. After two weeks' discussion the main features of a plan submitted by Benjamin Franklin, one of the delegates from Philadelphia, was finally adopted. But though the Congress unanimously adopted this plan, when it was submitted later to the colonial assemblies they refused to ratify it. They were evidently unwilling to increase the power of the Crown in colonial administration, or to submit to any general scheme of taxation for common defence. Their refusal to consider the scheme was rather unfortunate. If the Albany Plan of Union had been put into force it probably would have established a federation of all the English colonies in America, and it would have solved many problems of colonial defence and government which later led to a fatal separation between colonial and imperial interests, and to the disruption of the Empire in 1783.

The Programme of 1755 against French Power in America. The results of the Albany Congress did not augur

well for colonial co-operation either with each other or with the mother-country in the great struggle which now began for supremacy in America. However, though war had not yet been declared in Europe, an elaborate programme of attack was planned against various points on the frontiers of New France from Fort Duquesne in the west to Fort Beauséjour (in Acadia) in the east. The main expedition was against Fort Duquesne, which commanded the west, and this important task was entrusted to General Braddock, of the imperial army, supported by 1,400 British regulars. Braddock walked into an ambush and was shot down at the head of his troops, which were saved from annihilation only by the presence of Washington with a few colonial militia who were familiar with Indian warfare. This disaster shook the faith of the colonists in the efficiency of British arms, and made the difficult problem of co-operation still more difficult. Expeditions against Fort Niagara and Crown Point also broke down, and, except in Acadia, the elaborate programme of 1755 was a complete failure. In Acadia rather an important success was scored against the French in the capture of Fort Beauséjour. The British government at last decided to settle the question of divided allegiance in Acadia by insisting that all the Acadians should take an unconditional oath of allegiance to the British Crown. But these unfortunate people had been allowed for so long to defy British authority that many either refused to take the oath or neglected to do so within the time stated by Governor Lawrence's ultimatum. As an act of military necessity, about 6,000 Acadians were expelled from their homes in 1755 and transported to other parts of the English colonies.

Seven Years' War, 1756-63. In 1756 the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe, but, as we have seen, the English and French were already at grips in the backwoods of America. Still the fortunes of war went against the English. Led by the skilled and brave Montcalm, the French took Oswego, on

NORTH AMERICA IN 1756.

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Lake Ontario, and Fort William Henry, near Lake Champlain, where, after surrendering, a number of the garrison were murdered by the drink-crazed Indians. The English, under Abercromby, were also repulsed at Ticonderoga; while the incapable Earl of Loudoun kept his splendid force of some 12,000 men in idleness for almost a year at Halifax without even making a demonstration against Louisbourg. The reverses of the two past years had created a bad impression in the colonies. The fickle Indians were going over in shoals to the side of the French. From India and from Europe came news only of disaster. Even England was despondent. Then Pitt became head of the government. His enthusiasm and commanding genius soon made itself felt in the conduct of the war the world over. The old, incompetent commanders were summarily dismissed or superseded. New commanders were chosen, not because of seniority or family connection, but because of their promise or proven ability, and they were all young men. Amherst, who superseded Abercromby, was 41; Howe was 33; and James Wolfe, the ablest of them all, was but 31. Pitt's strategy was threefold: (1) By heavily subsidizing Prussia, England's only ally on the Continent, he would compel France to concentrate her full military strength on the prosecution of the war in Europe. (2) By pitting Prussia against France, English regulars need not be tied up in Europe, but could be released for a great offensive campaign in America. (3) By means of the navy, Canada could be blockaded while England would be free to reinforce her armies in America at will.

The Conquest of Canada. In 1758 the tide of victory turned with the capture of Louisbourg by Amherst, aided by a fleet under Boscawen. Fort Frontenac was destroyed by Bradstreet, commanding a body of colonial militia. This fortunate stroke lost to France the control of Lake Ontario, besides the stores for her western posts. Therefore, when

Forbes arrived at the forks of the Ohio, he found that the French had been compelled to evacuate and destroy Fort Duquesne. It was at once rebuilt and named Fort Pitt, in honour of the great war minister. This success was the turning-point of the war; for, in the words of Parkman: "It opened the great west to English enterprise, took from France half her savage allies, and relieved the western borders from the scourge of Indian warfare." The crowning victory for England was the capture of Quebec by Wolfe, in co-operation with an English fleet under Saunders, in 1759. The English batteries, established with the aid of the fleet opposite Quebec, did much damage to the city's fortifications, but all assaults in force had broken down. At last, by a night attack, Wolfe gained a footing on the Plains of Abraham to the west of the city, where Montcalm gave battle. Wolfe was killed, and Montcalm mortally wounded, but five days afterwards Quebec surrendered. An English force under General Murray was shut up in Quebec all the winter. Again British naval power was the decisive factor. The appearance of a fleet in the spring of 1760 relieved Murray at Quebec, while naval command of Lake Ontario enabled Amherst to join with him in the reduction of Montreal, and so to complete the conquest of the last French stronghold in Canada.

The English Colonies and the Seven Years' War. During the struggle with France in America the English colonies enjoyed great prosperity by providing supplies and means of transport for the imperial army. But though some of the colonies voted large sums of money for the prosecution of the war, they made no great sacrifices for the decisive defeat of France. They were not lacking in bravery, but they were lacking in those qualities which would promote co-operation either among themselves or with the mother-country in a war of aggression. They were intensely provincial and local in their point of view,

aggressively independent and undisciplined to any authority. If the campaign was unduly prolonged or severe, the colonial militia often deserted to their families and farms. On the other hand, the imperial officers were often haughty, overbearing, ignorant of local conditions and prejudices. Their ill-concealed contempt for the colonial was most heartily resented by the latter and returned with interest.

Treaty of Paris, 1763 The Treaty of Paris brought the Seven Years' War to a close in 1763, and the principal results of the conflict in America might be summarized as follows: (1) That it was Great Britain, and not her American colonies, that destroyed the power of France and drove her bag and baggage out of America. (2) That British sea-power was the determining factor in the struggle. (3) That the war, instead of uniting the colonies to the mother-country or promoting their mutual goodwill, had rather the opposite effect. (4) That the reliance of the colonies on the mother-country was weakened, and their spirit of independence strengthened by the removal of the French menace from the north and west. (5) That the campaigns into the Ohio valley had opened up the west to British settlement, and marked a new era of colonial expansion and development beyond the Alleghany Mountains. (6) That British power now extended from the Hudson Bay territory in the north to the Gulf of Mexico. This included Florida, which had formerly belonged to Spain, for which the latter in 1763 received New Orleans and the French territory west of the Mississippi as compensation.

Canada under British Rule, 1763-74. Many Englishmen believed that it would have been wiser for Great Britain to have given Canada back to France in 1763, and to have kept the West Indian Islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe instead. However, for good or for evil, Great Britain now found herself responsible for the government of some 80,000 French Catholics in Canada, in addition to her thirteen

English colonies to the south. Immediately upon the fall of Canada, traders from New York and New England went up to possess the land. They evidently believed that the mother-country had conquered this land for their especial benefit. But their attempts to exploit the simple French peasant soon brought them into conflict with Governor Murray, who took the part of the new French subjects of the empire. Murray therefore opposed the demands of the British element for an assembly, the granting of which would have placed the French majority at the mercy of a hostile minority, consisting of some 450 British Protestants. The incessant complaints of the British element finally led to Murray's recall in 1768; but Sir Guy Carleton, his successor, also proved to be a staunch friend of the French. No one dreamed at this time that Canada would ever be anything but a French Roman Catholic colony, so that the policy of the British government was to perpetuate the old French colonial system in Canada, and not to assimilate the government and laws of Canada to those of the other British provinces in America. This policy was definitely formulated in the Quebec Act of 1774. By this Act the authority of the Church of Rome in Canada was officially recognized. The French clergy could collect tithes from their own people. Besides the full privileges of their religion, the French were to be allowed the enjoyment of their old laws and customs. French seignorial tenure was therefore to be recognized as well as English freehold tenure. The Act provided for a Governor and a Legislative Council, but no popular assembly, much to the disgust of the British minority. The boundaries of Canada, now called the Province of Quebec, were also extended by the Act, east to include Labrador, and south and west to include all the country between the Ohio and Mississippi. The new Province of Quebec, therefore, included most of the lands beyond the Alleghanies claimed by several of the old British

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EXTENT OF SETTLEMENT IN NORTH AMERICA, 1660—1760.

colonies. One of the principal reasons for the extension of the boundaries of Canada was to establish uniform regulations for the Indian trade. But the colonies were inclined to believe that Great Britain intended to prevent the further expansion westward of self-governing colonies by establishing at their backs an arbitrarily ruled and Catholic colony.

III.—THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The Problem of Imperial Defence. The conquest of Canada had raised a new crop of problems in America which it was soon evident would tax to the utmost the statesmanship of Great Britain. The English colonies had given only indifferent aid to the imperial cause during the late Seven Years' War, but now that all danger from France was past, they were absolutely opposed to exerting themselves in imperial defence. The revolt which broke out in 1763, under the famous Ottawa chief, Pontiac, showed up clearly the lack of colonial enthusiasm and unity. Though this revolt lasted nearly three years and resulted in tremendous losses to life and property on the frontier settlements, the English commander, Colonel Bouquet, complained bitterly that he was utterly abandoned by the very people he was ordered to protect. However, the attitude of the American colonist toward the question of imperial defence was greatly misunderstood in England. It was not colonial cowardice nor disloyalty, but colonial provincialism and independence which prevented military co-operation with the mother-country. (1) In the first place, the colonies were jealous of each other. One colony objected to sending troops beyond its own frontiers to fight for a rival colony. (2) The question of military co-operation in imperial defence involved the important matter of voting money for militia and supplies. Now the question of voting money supplies was in all the colonies a perpetual cause for

friction between the colonial assemblies on the one hand, representing the popular elements, and the Governor and his council on the other, representing the British Crown and Executive. The assembly could often bring pressure to bear on the Governor and his executive by refusing to vote urgently needed supplies, unless certain conditions were first complied with. Therefore the French and Indian wars gave the colonies an opportunity of increasing their local liberties at the expense of their governments.

The Real Attitude of Colonists toward the Question of Defence. It was more important from the colonial point of view that the Governor and council should be made to recognize *the claim of the colonial assembly to initiate money supplies* than that the Militia Act should be renewed, or that money should be voted to carry on a war against an enemy which did not threaten the immediate frontiers. But since these disputes over the voting of supplies and the passing of Militia Acts had been coming constantly for the past two decades, they had an important influence on the colonial point of view. As a result of this continual friction the colonists were stimulated to formulate their own political theories and what they soon came to regard as their own political rights. This did not make the colonists less loyal, but it did make them less subservient and more independent.

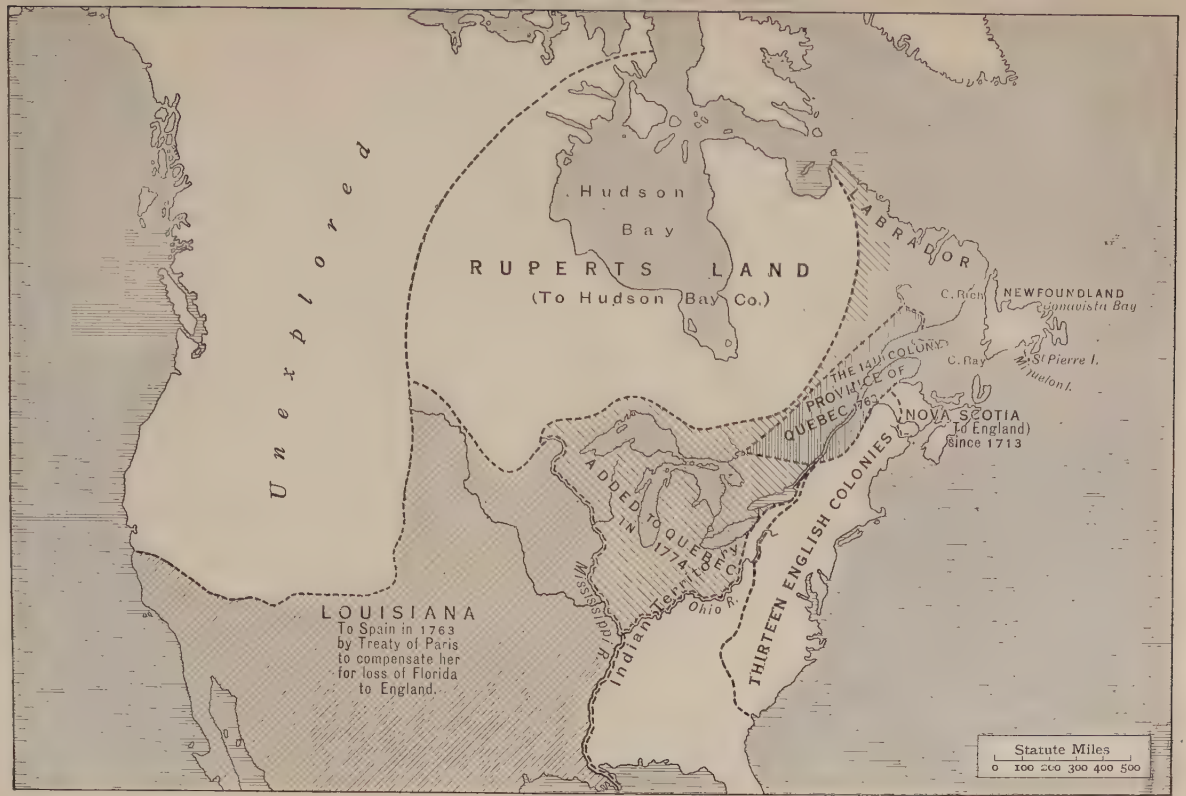
Down to 1764, however, the causes for friction between the colonies and the mother-country had been largely over questions of personal or local concern, while the colonies were just as jealous of each other as they were of the mother-country. But during 1764 and the years following Great Britain made the colossal blunder of giving the colonies a common grievance and a common ground for opposition.

Causes of the American Revolution. Since the outbreak of the Seven Years' War a determined effort had been made by the imperial government to enforce the Navigation Acts,

which had been openly evaded for many years, and to prevent illegal trade, especially with the French and Spanish West Indies. Grenville therefore passed a Revenue Act in 1764 which raised the duty on sugar and molasses, and prohibited the importation of rum. This Act was aimed at New England, which profited most by this illegal trade. At the close of the Seven Years' War many sources of profit were cut off in the colonies, and it was a time of general economic depression. It was, therefore, a distinctly bad time to impose new levies on colonial trade. However, the next year, with the assurance that ignorance often inspires, Grenville imposed a Stamp Tax on the American colonies to help pay for their defence. Now, while no one dreamed of questioning the right of the imperial Parliament to levy dues on colonial commerce (*external taxation*), the scheme of direct taxation (*internal taxation*) was without precedent in colonial history, and it touched a very tender spot. For years, as we have seen, and more especially during the recent war, the colonies had insisted that all money supplies should be initiated by the popular assemblies. The answer of the American colonies to the Stamp Tax was: "No taxation without representation." They would raise money for their own defence, but in their own way. There must be no coercion or restraint. This was contrary to colonial practice, and subversive of what they had come to claim as their "political rights." In 1765 Massachusetts called a meeting of the colonies at New York to protest against the action of the imperial government, and to draw up a statement of colonial rights. Nine colonies were represented at this meeting, which is known as the Stamp Act Congress. It was a significant occasion. For three-quarters of a century Great Britain had endeavoured to unite the colonies against the French. In 1765 nine colonies came together of their own free will to resist the encroachment of the mother-country on what they considered as their political

rights. In 1766 the Stamp Act was repealed by the Rockingham Whigs. But the issue was again raised the following year by Townshend's Revenue Act, a foolhardy measure that would never have been passed if the great Chatham had not been prostrated at his home in the country. The colonies retaliated with "non-importation agreements" to boycott all goods which were taxed under any Act of Parliament. In 1769 all the taxes were repealed *except* that on tea, which was to be retained at all cost in order to assert the authority of the Crown and Parliament over the colonies. In 1774 the so-called "Repressive Acts" were passed, among which was the Quebec Act already mentioned. By adopting coercion the government played into the hands of the more violent and radical elements, which were admirably organized under Adams of New England and Henry and Jefferson of Virginia. Colonial independence was now freely discussed, and in Massachusetts drilling and arming was in progress. Both Chatham and Burke pleaded for conciliation with the American colonies, but the repeated warning of England's two greatest statesmen was not heeded. In 1775 General Gage dispatched a body of regulars to seize some military stores concealed at Concord, Massachusetts. Two skirmishes took place with the colonial militia at Lexington and Concord. The American War for Independence had begun.

Canada and the American Revolution. The Americans were very anxious to secure the co-operation of Canada, the fourteenth colony. Emissaries from a Continental Congress which met at Philadelphia were therefore sent to incite the Canadians to throw off the "British yoke." The wisdom of the conciliatory policy adopted by the Quebec Act was now apparent. The Canadian *noblesse* and clergy were solidly for the British, and did all in their power to rally the *habitants* (peasants) to defend Canada against the threatened American invasion. But though the *habitants* refused to fight for Britain,



NORTH AMERICA, 1763—1774.

they also refused to give any material assistance to the enemy. Nevertheless, the situation in Canada was very critical. Governor Carleton could not rely upon the Canadian militia and there were no British regulars available. In 1775 the Americans seized the posts along the Lake Champlain and Richelieu River route, which opened an easy road to Montreal. By November of that year Congressional troops under Montgomery had occupied Montreal with practically no resistance, since the city contained many American sympathizers. Carleton with difficulty escaped through the American lines down the river to Quebec, where he determined to make his last stand. The victorious Americans apparently had the fourteenth colony in their grasp, for of the many thousand square miles which comprised the province of Quebec, but one square mile remained to be conquered. A second American army, under Arnold, now joined Montgomery for the attack on Quebec. A combined assault, delivered in a blinding snowstorm, failed to surprise or overwhelm the little garrison. Montgomery was killed and Arnold was wounded. The Americans now decided to wait for more reinforcements and to adopt the less costly plan of besieging the city. Carleton tenaciously held out for the rest of the winter.

Canada saved. Early in May, 1776, the long-expected help from England arrived to release the city. Again the British navy was the decisive factor. The Americans were compelled to beat a hasty retreat from before Quebec, and the offensive now passed to Carleton, whose courage and leadership in a critical hour had saved Canada for the British Empire. By June the Americans were compelled to withdraw from Montreal, and Canada was not again invaded for the duration of the war.

The Revolution in America. Meanwhile in America the war dragged on. Chatham had said in the British House of Lords: "Sirs, you can never conquer America." Chatham

was right. (1) The nature of the field of operations in America indeed presented an impossible task. America was a vast country with great natural resources. The country itself was difficult for military operations, since it was cut up by deep arms of the sea, and by vast swamps and forests which made pursuit impossible. The British armies could, therefore, never force a decision on the American armies, since they could always withdraw to the back country, where they were safe from pursuit. Moreover, as soon as the British army did venture inland they endangered their own communications and laid themselves open to being surrounded and cut off from their base. This happened twice with overwhelming disaster, to General Burgoyne at Saratoga, in 1777, and to General Cornwallis at Yorktown, in 1781. (2) Then, again, just as Chatham had foreseen, the French, at the critical moment in 1778, made an alliance with the American republic and sent men, money, and a fleet to her assistance. (3) Bute's bungling diplomacy in 1763 had left Great Britain isolated without a single ally in Europe. She was now at war with France, Spain, and Holland, while Russia and Sweden were leagued against her in an armed neutrality. For this reason Great Britain was not able to bring her full naval power to bear upon America. In 1781 a French fleet, under De Grasse, in co-operation with a Congressional army under Washington, enabled the Americans to cut off General Cornwallis at Yorktown and force his surrender.

The Treaty of Versailles, 1783. In 1783, by the Treaty of Versailles, Great Britain acknowledged the independence of her former thirteen American colonies as the "United States of America," the name which they had adopted at Philadelphia in 1776, when they had formally declared their independence.

The American Loyalist. There were many colonists who, while regarding the British policy after 1765 as unwise,

refused at all cost to renounce their allegiance to the British Crown and stood for a united empire. These were the American Loyalists. They represented the best classes of their respective communities, and at first they probably numbered more than a third of the whole population of the American colonies. The movement towards the complete independence of the American colonies was organized by a radical minority who, by their violence, committed many to a course of action from which it was impossible to retrace their steps. It was this radical minority that drew up the Declaration of American Independence in 1776. This was the parting of the ways. Loyalty to the British Empire was now treason to the United States. Every citizen had to renounce his allegiance to the British Crown and take the oath of allegiance to the United States, or be treated as an alien enemy. Hence the Loyalist was liable to imprisonment, confiscation of property, or even death. His life and property were at the mercy of the mob, for he was denied redress in an American court for any injury that might be done to him.

Loyalist Part in the Revolution. But the War of American Independence was not only a revolt; it was also a civil war. Loyalists like Sir John Johnson, Alexander Macdonnell, and Colonel John Butler, far from being the passive sufferers of oppression, took up arms on the side of Britain and organized Loyalist resistance. Bands of Loyalist rangers carried on a destructive guerrilla warfare along the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania, New York, and North Carolina. The Americans never forgot the terrible Loyalist raids into the Wyoming and Mohawk valleys, when quarter was neither given nor received. As we may judge from their attitude, the Loyalists staked everything on the success of British arms in America, because only a decisive British victory would ensure the restoration of their offices and their confiscated lands and property. They were

Public

doomed to disappointment. But, to make matters worse, the treaty of 1783, which recognized American independence, contained no guarantee of restitution nor any certain provision for their relief. The victors, if anything, increased the persecutions of the unfortunate Loyalists, who could only throw themselves on the mercy of the British government. However, though the imperial government had been shamefully negligent in securing favourable terms for those who had staked all on the unity of the empire, it now made honourable amends. Every assistance was offered to facilitate the removal of the Loyalists to British territory and especially to Canada.

Loyalist Emigration to Canada. The coming of the Loyalists, as far as Canada was concerned, was the most important result of the American Revolution. It might almost be described as the second British conquest of Canada, only this time it was a peaceable conquest. The first great wave of Loyalist emigration was to Nova Scotia as early as 1776. These first arrivals were from Boston, which the British evacuated in that year. By the end of 1783 about 30,000 had arrived in Nova Scotia from New York alone, which was the last territory in America evacuated by the British. The population of Nova Scotia was tripled in a single year. There was hardly enough food for all who came, and during the first winter or so a number died from exposure, owing to the lack of proper accommodation. About 10,000 Loyalists went to the north-west shores of the Bay of Fundy and settled around the mouth of the St. John River. This was the beginning of New Brunswick, which was set apart as a separate province in 1784. The town which sprang up at the mouth of the river was incorporated in 1785 as the city of St. John. Farther inland the Loyalists established themselves at the abandoned Acadian village of St. Anne's, which was renamed Frederickton, and four years after it was chosen as the capital of New Brunswick. About

35,000 Loyalists in all found new homes in the maritime provinces.

Founding of Western Settlements, Upper Canada. Many Loyalists from New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts migrated to the "western settlements" of Quebec. This was the beginning of another new British province, later called Upper Canada, the present province of Ontario. Because of the natural advantages of water communication these settlements were located along the upper St. Lawrence and the north shore of Lake Ontario. First there was the Cataraqui settlements, situated at the head of the St. Lawrence River where old Fort Frontenac stood, afterwards called Kingston. A little farther west, along the shores of the Bay of Quinte, several new townships were also established, containing many old families of Dutch and German descent from the banks of the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers. Still farther west settlements were located in the neighbourhood of Niagara, which on account of its proximity to the border had been a haven for the Loyalists of Pennsylvania and the frontier districts. In all perhaps 5,000 Loyalists went to the "western settlements." Generous provision was also made for the Indians who had taken the side of the British, chief among whom were the Mohawks under Joseph Brant. Two large reservations were granted to the Mohawks, one on the Bay of Quinte, and the other near the present city of Brantford. Here the descendants of this once warlike tribe of the famous Iroquois Confederacy may be seen to-day engaged for the most part in the peaceful pursuits of agriculture.

Hardships of Early Pioneer Life. The first few years of pioneer life were attended by many hardships for the Loyalists, though the British government did everything in its power to aid the new settlers. Liberal grants of land were made, mills were erected at central points, and for the first few years the government provided the settlers with

free clothing, seed, tools and fire-arms. Since many of the Loyalists had been officers or professional men, they were quite unused to the hardships of pioneer life. In 1788, the "Famine Year," when some of the government supplies were stopped and the crops proved a failure, there was much suffering in the western settlements, which developed very slowly during those early years.

IV.—THE GRANT OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Demand of Loyalists in Western Settlements for Self-Government. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the total population of the western settlements was not more than 12,000, while that of lower Quebec was about 125,000, of which number only about 5,000 were British. But though the British in the western settlements were comparatively few in numbers, they were ambitious, energetic, and filled with a wholesome discontent with their mode of government. The Loyalist element had been accustomed to representative institutions in America, and therefore they were not contented with the executive form of government established by the Quebec Act of 1774. However, their petitions for a legislative assembly were at first in vain. Carleton, in 1786 made Lord Dorchester and Governor-General of British North America, thought that the western settlements were too backward to warrant any organization superior to that of a county, and so he opposed the idea of an assembly for a number of years. But in view of the fact that Nova Scotia had enjoyed an assembly ever since 1758 (the first in Canadian history), and New Brunswick since 1784, it was difficult to refuse the legitimate aspirations of the western Loyalists to govern themselves as well. Moreover the British, now a vigorous and compact majority in the western settlements of Quebec, were greatly dissatisfied with the French system of land tenure and code

of civil law, which, according to the Quebec Act, enjoyed an equal status with that of the English. It was evident that the coming of the Loyalists had made the policy of the Quebec Act obsolete. Canada was no longer merely a French colony to be administered in the interests of that race, but a British province, where English language, laws, and customs were bound to flourish and increase.

The Constitutional Act, 1791. By 1789 the British government under Pitt had decided to make some new provision for the government of Quebec. The most obvious solution of the problem of two rival races and codes of law was to divide Quebec into two provinces under separate governments. The British in lower Quebec were very much opposed to this idea, as it would leave them in a hopeless minority. Dorchester also opposed the idea of division, and instead favoured some scheme which would bring all the provinces of British North America under one central government or head. In fact, Chief Justice Smith actually proposed at this time a scheme of Canadian confederation. But though Dorchester, the man on the spot who ought to have known, expressed his general approval of this scheme and vigorously opposed the division of the province, the British government almost wholly ignored his opinions and drew up, according to its own ideas, a Bill for the government of Canada known as the Constitutional Act of 1791. By this Act Quebec was divided into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, separated by the Ottawa River. Each province was to have its own Governor appointed by the Crown, a legislative council chosen by the Governor, and an assembly elected by the people. Special provision was made for the support of a Protestant clergy by setting aside one-seventh of the Crown lands for this purpose. The Act also provided that all existing laws were to be continued subject to future repeal or variation by the new assemblies. This provision meant that the

upper province could adopt English law, while the lower province could continue its old French laws and customs. In other words, Upper Canada was to be a *British*, and Lower Canada a *French*, province.

Lower Canada under the Constitutional Act. The French in Lower Canada had at first opposed the idea of an assembly because they were not accustomed to self-government, and they regarded with apprehension the rising tide of British institutions and influences which the Loyalist emigration had brought to Canada. However, the French-Canadians soon found that the grant of an assembly, in which they had an overwhelming predominance, provided a powerful instrument for the advancement of their own interests as a race. These racial differences were further emphasized by the action of the Governor of Lower Canada, who naturally looked to the British minority for support in the face of the overwhelming French majority in the Assembly. He therefore selected his council from the British official and commercial class. This he believed was necessary to protect the interests of the British minority and to preserve the British connection. Thus the executive government of Lower Canada gradually became an official bureaucracy, and, to make matters worse, it was not responsible for its actions to the assembly which represented the wishes of the French majority. The *Quebec Mercury*, the newspaper of the British official and commercial interests, complained loudly that Lower Canada was too French for a British province. *Le Canadien*, a rival newspaper founded in 1806 to protect French interests, and having for its motto, "Nos institutions, notre langue et nos lois," spoke bitterly of the British as interlopers and intruders.

Upper Canada under the Constitutional Act. In Upper Canada, constitutional government was established under rather more favourable conditions. As we have seen, the western settlements had been unanimously in favour of an

assembly, and there were no racial complications as in the lower province. In 1792 Governor Simcoe called the first legislative assembly of Upper Canada at Newark. The very first act of the new Parliament was significant, for it made English laws a rule of decision in all matters relating to property and civil rights. Provision was also made for a judicial system and for a provincial militia. Simcoe's special concern was to make this new Loyalist province safe against any future aggression from the United States. The possibility of a war between Great Britain and the United States was a real menace to the struggling settlements in Canada for many a year. Jay's Treaty of 1794 postponed an actual clash for eighteen years, and settled one long-standing grievance between the two countries. By this treaty Great Britain handed over old Fort Niagara and the other western posts to the United States. Great Britain had held these posts since 1783, owing to the alleged failure of the United States to fulfil certain treaty obligations regarding the Loyalists and the payment of pre-war debts. However, when Fort Niagara was given up, the provincial capital, on account of its proximity to the border of a possible enemy, was changed from Newark to York. This is now the modern city of Toronto, which was chosen as the capital of Upper Canada, in 1794, on account of its central position and splendid harbour. For the defence and development of Upper Canada Simcoe planned a system of military highways connecting the different parts of the province. He also made elaborate plans for locating military settlements of Loyalist militia along the frontiers.

Emigration from the United States to Canada. After the establishment of constitutional government in Upper Canada, there began a heavy emigration from the United States to the province, which Simcoe wisely encouraged by liberal grants of lands. But, as it was his plan to have the frontier settlements composed largely of the old Loyalist

militia in case of invasion, these later arrivals from the United States were located mostly in the back townships. The result was that the back country of Upper Canada was beginning to be populated as well, and by a class of settlers who, in the main, were industrious and loyal citizens.

"Family Compact" of Upper Canada. There were a few of the newcomers who were not as desirable from the point of view of those in authority, because of their too ardent admiration for republican institutions, and also because of their open criticism of the government. These criticisms were not without certain justification, because the old Loyalist elements, which Simcoe so obviously favoured, tended to band themselves together in an official clique to keep the honours and perquisites of office in their own hands, and sometimes to enrich themselves and their friends by grants of the most desirable public lands. This official clique later came to be known as the "Family Compact." Troubles in Ireland in 1798 also sent many settlers to Upper Canada, while the emigration from the United States continued down to the war of 1812. By this time the population of Upper Canada had increased to about 75,000.

In 1796 Governor Simcoe retired, but he had laid the basis for a loyal and prosperous province. The good success of Canada during the war with the United States from 1812 to 1814 was largely due to his wisdom and foresight, and he may properly be regarded as the founder of Upper Canada.

Causes of the War of 1812-14. The slumbering resentment between Great Britain and the United States at last broke out in 1812. The British claims to search American ships on the high seas for runaway sailors, and the damage inflicted on the neutral trade of the United States during the war with France, were the principal causes of the war. The New England states opposed the war because it would mean the certain destruction of their sea-borne commerce. But the Southern and Western states, having no great sea-

borne commerce, believed that the capture of Canada would be sufficient compensation for the temporary dislocation of their cotton and tobacco trade. Canada was the price that Great Britain would be made to pay for her naval supremacy on the high seas.

Failure of the United States to conquer Canada. In 1812 the United States had a population of about 8,000,000, while the total population of Canada was only about 555,000 people, who were disposed along the northern frontier of the United States for nearly 2,000 miles in a long line of straggling settlements lying open and apparently inviting attack. Nevertheless, the result was not what might have been expected. The United States were not united in the prosecution of the war against Canada. Their militia was badly organized, and they never used their great resources to the best advantage. After about three years of war, the Americans had failed to occupy any considerable territory in Canada. At Queenston Heights and Lundy's Lane they had been repulsed with heavy losses by the British regulars and militia of Upper Canada, which bore the brunt of the fighting throughout the war. It is true that some of the border settlements of Upper Canada had suffered heavily. York had been occupied, and Newark burned to the ground by the Americans in 1813. Nevertheless, in Lower Canada especially, the main centres of trade and industry had not been touched by the war. During the war, labour and supplies for the British army brought the highest prices. Merchants who were almost bankrupt before the war, by 1814 had amassed a fortune, and were enlarging their businesses. Economically the war had brought prosperity to Canada. Politically it had brought unity, and had checked for a while the growth of republican sentiment in Canada. It had brought neither territory nor glory to the United States, and by 1814 Americanc ommerçe was practically swept off the seas.

Treaty of Ghent, 1814. The inconclusive results of the struggle were shown by the fact that the Treaty of Ghent, which closed the war in 1814, did not mention one of the alleged causes of the war. Great Britain and the United States have had many differences since 1814, but this was the last armed conflict between these two great Anglo-Saxon democracies. For over a century, arbitration has provided a satisfactory method of reaching a just and lasting settlement, in which material interests and national honour alike have been satisfied.

V.—THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF CANADA FROM 1812 DOWN TO THE GRANTING OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, 1849, AND OF COMPLETE AUTONOMY, 1859.

Political Difficulties in Lower Canada. The war of 1812 had brought about a political truce for the time being in Canada. During the war Papineau, the leader of the French-Canadian Nationalist party, had given his loyal support to the government of Lower Canada. But soon after the conclusion of peace the old political feuds along racial lines were again revived. The principal point at issue was the claim of the assembly in Lower Canada to control all public revenue and expenditure, including the salaries of the Governor and of the other principal officials. These claims of the assembly were not constitutional, and its opposition was not so much to enforce the principle of the responsibility of the executive to the popular body as it was to assert the predominance of the French-Canadians as a race. In 1831 the Colonial Office finally agreed to recognize the claims of the assembly to control provincial revenue, so long as provision was first made for the salaries of the Governor and of the other principal officials. However, as the assembly still refused to make this provision, the council

was obliged to reject the Annual Supply Bills. For five years no supplies were granted, and government in Lower Canada was virtually at a deadlock.

Political Difficulties in Upper Canada. In Upper Canada the demand for an executive responsible to the popular house was not complicated by racial differences as in the lower province. There existed, however, a "Popular" or "Reform party" in Upper Canada which demanded: (1) The control of provincial revenue; (2) the independence of the judiciary; (3) religious equality, which would grant to other Protestant Churches, besides the Anglican, a share of the "Clergy Reserves." These reserves had been founded by the Constitutional Act in 1791, and consisted of one-seventh of the Crown lands, which so far had only been used for the support of the Anglican establishment; (4) a check upon pension abuses and the sale of Crown lands from which many members of the "Family Compact" profited. The "Family Compact," so called, was the official governing class of Upper Canada. It was recruited from the old Loyalist families of the province and from English officialdom at large. Its members—by reason of their influential connection, their superior wealth and education—regarded themselves as best fitted to manage the affairs of the province. This they did, and generally in their own interests. They were inclined to be very scornful of the demands of the Reform party, whose criticism of the government they tried to discredit by charges of disloyalty and republicanism.

Immediate Causes of the Rebellion in Upper Canada. In the General Election of 1836, Governor Sir Francis Bond Head used his influence to secure the defeat of the Reform candidates. By making loyalty to the British connection the issue of the election, he obscured the real issue of responsible government, and by an unfair advantage drove all the radical reformers out of the government. The

more sober and influential reformers, like Baldwin and Dunn, still hoped to secure reform by peaceful agitation. But a few of the more hot-headed radicals, led by the fiery Mackenzie, despairing of ever righting their wrongs by constitutional methods, rashly decided to make their last desperate appeal to arms.

Rebellion of 1837 and 1838. The rebellion which now broke out in Upper Canada was soon quelled. An attempt of the rebels to capture Toronto, the capital of Upper Canada, proved a miserable failure; and Mackenzie was shortly after compelled to flee for safety to the United States.

In Lower Canada the rebellion was slightly more serious, though at no time was it really dangerous. From the beginning the revolutionary propaganda of Papineau had been under the ban of the Church. There was no concerted rising. The towns were not revolutionary, and the revolt was practically confined to the rural districts around Montreal.

Agitation in the Maritime Provinces. In the Maritime Provinces there was no armed revolt, though very much the same causes for discontent existed as in Upper Canada. The control of public revenue was also monopolized by a powerful and exclusive official clique which ignored the wishes of the popular assembly whenever its opinions clashed with their own. Joseph Howe, one of the ablest and most eloquent statesmen North America ever produced, was the outstanding figure in the agitation for responsible government in the Maritime Provinces.

Durham's Report on Canada. In 1838 Lord Durham was sent to Canada as Governor and Lord High Commissioner to inquire into the situation and to prescribe some effective remedy. The failure of the home government to support Durham brought about his resignation within seven months, but fortunately not before he had arrived at some

important conclusions regarding the Canadian situation which were later embodied in his masterly *Report on Canada.* His main recommendations were: (1) For a legislative union of the two Canadas; and (2) for the granting of responsible government—*i.e.*, that in all local affairs the Governor and council should take the advice of the assembly (the popular body) and be bound by it.

To Durham's successor, Charles Poulett Thompson, who came to Canada as Governor in 1839, was intrusted the difficult task of securing the consent of the Upper and Lower Provinces to an Act for their legislative union. The "Family Compact" opposed the measure, but Thompson's tact and strong personality finally carried the day.

Act of Union, 1840. By an Imperial Act of 1840 the legislative union of the two provinces was at last consummated. For this service Thompson was made Lord Sydenham. In 1841 the first parliament of the united Canadas met at Kingston.

The Grant of Responsible Government, 1846. Durham's second main recommendation regarding responsible government for Canada was not granted till six years after the passing of the Union. In 1846, however, the advent of the Whig administration of Lord John Russell marked the beginning of a new and more liberal epoch of colonial administration. Lord Grey, the colonial secretary, now decided to grant Canada responsible government in accordance with the most liberal interpretation of Durham's famous recommendation. Lord Elgin, the new Governor-General of Canada in 1846, and son-in-law of Durham, was the first colonial administrator to carry the principle of responsible government into effect.

In this same year, 1846, Canada made another important step towards complete self-government and local autonomy, when she gained the right to control her own fiscal policy.

Canada adopts a Protective Policy, 1859. In 1846, the

imperial government conceded Canada the right to abolish any preference on British goods. This was an act of justice because under the free trade programme adopted by Great Britain in 1846 preference was no longer to be granted on Canadian goods. When this concession was made, however, it was hoped that Canada would also adopt a free trade programme similar to that of the mother-country. But Canada had different views as to what was the best fiscal policy for her to adopt, and in 1859 she embarked on a definitely protectionist programme. The apparent success of the United States as a high-tariff nation, and the desire to protect Canadian manufacturers from their American competitors, were largely responsible for this step. Very reluctantly in 1859 the imperial government gave its consent to a Canadian Customs Act embodying a policy of protection.

Canadian Customs Act, 1859, and Recognition of Complete Colonial Autonomy. A large number of imported goods were to be taxed, including those from the mother-country. The real significance of this Act was the recognition by the mother-country of the principle of complete colonial autonomy. Canada was no longer in leading-strings. The confederation of Canada with the Maritime Provinces was to be the next important step towards nationhood.

VI.—INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA AND WESTWARD EXPANSION, 1812-67.

The improvement of Canada's means of communication and transport has been one of the principal factors in her political and economic development. Canada possessed a wonderful chain of waterways, but the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence system along which nearly all the populous settlements were located contained many natural barriers in the form of waterfalls and rapids. Between Lake Erie and tidewater at Three Rivers there is a fall of nearly 600 feet.

The Evolution of Water Transportation. In the old days of the trapper and fur trader the light birch-bark canoe was easily carried round these obstacles, but to meet the heavier transport demands of the permanent settler the old methods were no longer adequate. As early as 1779 rude canals, scarcely more than ditches, had been constructed at one or more points on the St. Lawrence to facilitate Loyalist immigration to Upper Canada. In 1821-24 the Lachine Canal was constructed to overcome the rapids immediately above Montreal. In 1825-29 the Welland Canal was built to connect Lake Erie and Lake Ontario and to avoid the mighty barrier of Niagara Falls. After the Union of 1841, which was followed by a notable increase in population and wealth, the St. Lawrence Canal system and the Welland Canal were widened and deepened, so that by 1848 vessels of twenty-foot beam and drawing nine feet of water could sail from the head of Lake Michigan to the ocean.

As the means of communication improved so did the means of transport. The broad, flat-bottomed "Durham boats," which were poled or dragged upstream, supplanted the canoe on the river routes, while on the lakes many schooners were employed. Then came the steamer. In 1809 the first steamboat in British North America plied between Quebec and Montreal. By 1830 there was a good steamboat service between Montreal and Toronto by which the journey might now be accomplished in two days instead of a week or more. The first steamship to cross the Atlantic was a Canadian boat, the *Royal William*. It was built in Quebec and sailed from Pictou to London in 1833, making the trip in twenty-five days. In 1840, a Nova Scotian, Samuel Cunard, put into commission the first mail steamboat line between England and North America. The Cunard mail-ship, *Britannia*, made the voyage across in about twelve days, by which means Canada was now brought about three times nearer to the mother-land than heretofore. This was a very real tie of empire.

The Evolution of Land Transportation. The next step in the development of Canadian transportation was by land. The "blazed trail" through the forest gradually gave place to the "corduroy road," formed of logs placed side by side; these in turn, between the older settled communities, were replaced by the plank road; and, finally, by the graded macadamized road. Then came the railroad. The first phase of railway construction in Canada was the building of "portage" roads, like the "Champlain and St. Lawrence" and the "Montreal and Lachine." The former was the first railroad in Canada. It was sixteen miles long and the cars were at first drawn by horses. In 1837 steam-power was used and the line extended. The Great Northern, the first steam railroad in Upper Canada, was also only a portage railway, connecting Lake Huron with Toronto on Lake Ontario. In 1856 the Grand Trunk between Montreal and Toronto was completed. By 1867 there were 1,275 miles of railway in Upper Canada, 523 in Quebec, 196 in New Brunswick, and 93 in Nova Scotia. But there was as yet no intercolonial railway as a link between the Maritime Provinces and those along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes.

Growth of Population and Industry, 1812-67. Closely related to the development of transportation was the growth of population and industry. The economic distress in the British Isles after 1815 brought thousands of English, Irish, and Scotch to Canada. In many cases the imperial government aided emigration, as in the case of the districts round Peterborough, which were settled by Irish families in 1825. Land companies were also active in promoting settlement, notably the Canada Land Company (1826), which purchased the Huron Tract of over a million acres, which were sold again on easy terms to settlers. The cities of Galt, Guelph, and Goderich were founded largely as the result of the activities of this company. Then, even as now,

agriculture was the mainstay of Canada. The clearing of the land was tedious work, and returns were at first small Wheat was the principal crop, though barley and other grains were grown as more land was cleared. Canadian barley found a profitable market in the United States. The ashes from the burned timber had commercial value, and were used in the manufacture of soap. In the Maritime Provinces, fishing, lumbering, and its allied industry ship-building, were the principal industries. Down to 1867 flour-mills and saw-mills were still the principal manufacturing industries, though by that time there were numerous other industries in Canada, but only on a small scale to satisfy local needs.

Western Expansion. But while in Canada and in the Maritime Provinces there were growing up large and fairly prosperous communities, down to the middle of the nineteenth century what is now Western and North-western Canada was almost a closed country. In the fifties "the west" meant Canada West, the southern part of the present province of Ontario. But to-day Winnipeg, Manitoba, is not considered "the west," but only "middle west." The history of the west and westward expansion is closely connected with the oldest of Canada's industries, the fur trade. For over a century the Hudson Bay Company had an absolute monopoly over the fur trade in Prince Rupert's Land, which, roughly speaking, comprised the area drained by the rivers emptying into Hudson Bay. In 1783, the monopoly of the fur trade was disputed by a body of Montreal merchants, who had combined in order to compete more successfully with their older rival. This new organization was called the North-West Company, and under its direction explorations to the west and north-west of Rupert's Land were undertaken in order to control the fur trade in this vast area beyond the limits of the Hudson Bay Company's territory.

First Journey across Canada by Land, 1793. In 1792 Alexander Mackenzie, a servant of the North-West Company, followed the Peace River to where it empties into the Arctic at Mackenzie Bay. The following year he started from Fort Chipewan on Lake Athabasca, and after a journey of incredible hardship he crossed the great barrier of the Rocky Mountains, and, descending the short western slope on the other side, he reached the Pacific Coast on July 22, 1793. This was the first time that the Pacific had been reached by land. Between 1800 and 1808, Fraser and Thompson, servants of the North-West Company, crossed the Rockies and also reached the Pacific Coast. In 1800 Thompson discovered the famous Bow River Pass, through which afterwards ran the first transcontinental railroad that connected the East with the West. But in all these explorations it was the opening up of new areas for the fur trade, and not colonization, that was the principal motive. Nevertheless, the fur trade deserves important mention. It provided the sinews of war to carry out these explorations, and in the wake of the fur trader came the map-maker, the prospector, the lumberer, and the colonist. It is true that for years the fur trader deliberately discouraged colonization. But certain physical features also retarded westward expansion from Canada. The rocky, desolate area to the north of Lake Huron and Lake Superior for years presented an almost impassable barrier, which was not overcome till after confederation and the building of the first transcontinental railway. Before 1867 the commonest route was by way of Detroit, Chicago, St. Paul and Red River north, to Fort Garry, the site of the modern Winnipeg. The other route was from York Factory, or Fort Nelson, the two principal Hudson Bay posts on Hudson Bay, south along the Nelson River to Lake Winnipeg.

First Settlement in West. The "Red River Settlement" the Beginning of Manitoba, 1812. It was by this

northern route that the first permanent colony in Western Canada, the beginning of the Province of Manitoba, was planted by Lord Selkirk in 1812. This settlement was located at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers on land purchased by Selkirk from the Hudson Bay Company, in which he had a controlling interest. The traders of the North-West Company, aided by the French half-breeds in their employ, at once did everything in their power to break up Selkirk's settlements. First they resorted to strategy, bribing the colonists to move away by offers of transportation and lands in Upper Canada. Then they resorted to force, attacking the remaining settlers, driving many off their lands and burning their houses and crops. Selkirk tried to get compensation in the Law Courts of Upper Canada, but the North-West Company was so strongly entrenched in the "Family Compact" that all his attempts to secure justice were in vain. Later additions to Selkirk's Red River settlements prevented them from wholly dying out, and down to 1867 they contained the only considerable number of white settlers west of the Rocky Mountains.

Union of North-West Company and Hudson Bay Company, 1821. In 1821 the two rival fur companies were united under the name of the older organization. The absence of the former intense rivalry was distinctly more favourable to the settler. The reorganized Hudson Bay Company was now given a monopoly of trade, not only of Rupert's Land, but of all the vast area to the south and west as far as the Pacific Ocean. This south-western area was very great. It included part of what now are the States of Washington and Montana (U.S.A.). In these regions the Hudson Bay Company had established trading posts for many years. The London Convention of 1818 had fixed the 49th parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains as the international boundary, but the Pacific Coast region had been left free and open to the subjects of

NORTH AMERICA, 1783—1867.

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both powers. In 1842 an inrush of American settlers compelled a definite division of this region. Great Britain claimed the Columbia River as the southern boundary. The Americans made a most extravagant claim to all the Pacific Coast as far north as 54° 40′. "Fifty-four forty or fight" was the American slogan.

Oregon Treaty, 1846. A fair compromise was arranged by the Oregon Treaty of 1846, which continued the 49th parallel to the Pacific, but gave all of Vancouver Island to Great Britain. In 1856 the first assembly to meet west of Upper Canada was called at Victoria, on Vancouver Island. James Douglas, the Chief Factor of the Hudson Bay Company, was also the first Governor. However, it was the mainland of the Pacific coast that was soon to become the centre of a new life.

The Beginning of British Columbia. In 1858 the discovery of gold brought thousands of prospectors to the banks of the Fraser River and to the famous Cariboo Mines. In the same year of the gold rush, the new Province of British Columbia was proclaimed. The first mad rush brought about forty thousand to British Columbia, but after the fever subsided only about ten thousand remained. The miners and new settlers chafed under the monopoly of the Hudson Bay Company, which reaped a fortune in supplying provisions and transport to the newcomers. In 1859 the Company's special privileges west of the Rockies were cancelled. The miner had ousted the fur trader, but, as we have seen, both were instruments in the hands of destiny to lay the foundations of one of Canada's fairest provinces.

To the east of the Rockies the Hudson Bay Company still remained all-powerful for another decade. In 1859 the first Western newspaper, *The Nor'-Wester*, was founded by Dr. Schultz, who advocated self-government, and attacked the autocratic influence of the Hudson Bay Company. It was not till after the confederation of the eastern provinces

that Rupert's Land and the north-west were finally made self-governing as a part of the Dominion of Canada.

VII.—CONFEDERATION AND THE DOMINION OF CANADA, 1867.

Demand in Upper Canada for Representation by Population. The idea of a confederation of the British North American Provinces was no new thing. Chief Justice Smith and Lord Dorchester had favoured it in 1791, Lord Durham in 1838, and many others since. The forces which at last brought confederation into the sphere of practical politics were many and varied. For the sake of brevity, the principal factors may be summarized as follows: (1) Upper Canada had outgrown the Union of 1840. By 1861 Upper Canada was superior to the Lower Province in both wealth and population. According to the census of this year, the population of Upper Canada exceeded that of Lower Canada by about 300,000. Upper Canada therefore demanded a readjustment of her representation in the legislature commensurate with her superior position. This was strenuously resisted by the French-Canadians as an attack on the security of their language, religion, and institutions, and as a violation of the terms on which they had entered the Union in 1840. The English Conservatives in both provinces supported the contention of the French that a change in the representation would be a violation of a solemn contract.

The New Liberal-Conservative Party. (2) After the Union a new alignment of political parties had been brought about by John A. Macdonald. In 1854 he united the Conservatives and Liberals of *both* provinces, who were joined by the old Tories to form the new Liberal-Conservative party. Their opponents were the "Grits," the more radical of the Liberal or Reform party, under the leadership

of George Brown. Brown was founder and editor of the *Toronto Globe*, and he had been one of the leaders in the movement for responsible government in the forties. These two new parties were so nearly balanced that within two years five different ministries were formed without reaching any conclusion on the vexed question of representation by population. In 1864 all party government was practically at a deadlock.

Coalition for Confederation. (3) In 1864 a Coalition Ministry was formed, largely through the good offices of Hon. Alexander T. Galt, in which Macdonald and Cartier were now united with their former political opponents, Brown and Mowat. The basis of agreement was that both parties were pledged to introduce a measure of federal union with provision for the ultimate union of the other provinces and of the north-west territories.

Confederation Sentiment in Maritime Provinces. (4) In the meantime Dr. Tupper had been advocating a union of the Maritime Provinces. A conference which met at Charlottetown to discuss this question was adjourned to Quebec, at the invitation of a delegation from Canada, to consider the larger question of a union of all the British provinces. The Quebec Conference sat behind closed doors for eighteen days. Little is known of what actually transpired, but the tangible result of the Conference's deliberations was seventy-two resolutions, outlining a plan of confederation which, with slight modifications, was passed by the imperial parliament as the British North America Act, 1867.

Imperial Interests served by a Confederation. (5) There were also external factors which favoured a North American confederation from the point of view both of imperial and of Canadian interests. (*a*) Imperial interests: The danger of a war with the United States, because of the aid England had given to the Confederate States of the South against

the Union (1860-65), had brought up the question of imperial defence. In 1862 the British government had unanimously resolved "that colonies exercising the rights of self-government ought to undertake the main responsibility of providing for their own internal order and security and ought to assist in their own external defence." A Canadian confederation would therefore simplify the problem of imperial defence and enable Great Britain to throw a larger responsibility in this matter on the united people of British North America.

Canadian Interests served by a Confederation. (*b*) Canadian interests would also be served by a larger union. The provinces realized their isolated position, their lack of adequate means of communication, and the insecurity of their straggling borders. The Fenian Raids of 1866 from the United States against various points along the Canadian frontier had brought this lesson home, and New Brunswick in that same year decided unanimously for confederation, after rejecting it just the year before. The provinces also realized their commercial insecurity. The bad feeling engendered by the late civil war had induced the United States to terminate the reciprocity agreement of 1846 with Canada. It was feared that the bonding system, by which Canadian goods for exportation could pass through the United States unopened, would also be withdrawn. It therefore behoved the British provinces to get together in order to secure their commercial interests. On more than one occasion fear of American aggression has played an important part in the unifying of British North America.

The Government of Canada under the British North America Act. The British North America Act of 1867 established the Dominion of Canada. July 1 was the birthday of the new Dominion, and ever since "Dominion Day" has been observed as a national holiday. At first there were only four provinces—*i.e.*, Ontario and Quebec

(the new names for Upper and Lower Canada), Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. According to the new constitution established by the British North America Act under which Canada is still governed, each province in the Dominion has its own Lieutenant-Governor and legislature, which possesses certain powers over matters of local concern. The Federal or Dominion government (in which the provinces are also represented) is supreme, having jurisdiction over all matters not assigned to the provincial governments. The British imperial government no longer deals directly with the various provinces, but only with the Federal government. The Governor-General is the representative of the British Crown and the nominal head of the Executive government, but the Dominion Cabinet with its different ministers and departments (of finance, agriculture, railways, etc.) is the real executive head of the Government. The members of the cabinet are responsible to the Federal legislature, which is elected by the people of the Dominion. If Canada is misgoverned the Canadian people can now blame only themselves, and they have an immediate remedy. The Dominion government may disallow provincial Acts, and in the case of concurrent legislation, relating to agriculture and immigration, Dominion Acts override provincial legislation. The supreme position of the Federal Dominion Government was deliberately established by the "Fathers of Confederation," in preference to the federal system of the United States, in which the States possess the residuum of powers not exercised by the Federal government. The seat of the new Dominion government was at Ottawa.

Repeal Agitation in Nova Scotia. One of the first questions the new Dominion government had to meet was the movement in Nova Scotia, headed by Joseph Howe, for a repeal of the Union. However, when more generous terms were promised Nova Scotia in regard to her financial

position in the confederation, Howe dropped his agitation for repeal and joined the government. In 1867 construction on the Intercolonial Railway was begun as a connecting-link between the Maritime Provinces and Quebec. This was a part of the confederation agreement with the Maritime Provinces, and by 1876 the railway was completed under the able direction of Sanford Fleming, one of Canada's pioneer railway builders. This was the first link in the great chain of railways which were soon to bind together the various provinces of the Dominion from sea to sea.

Prince Edward Island joins the Confederation, 1873. Prince Edward Island had at first refused to join the Dominion. But financial difficulties connected with the building of a railway finally induced the islanders to throw in their lot with the Dominion of Canada in 1873.

Newfoundland refuses to join. Newfoundland, the oldest permanent British colony in the new world, was also asked to join the confederation. Newfoundland at that time and since has steadily refused to identify herself with the larger interests of the Dominion. Newfoundland's refusal may be explained by a consideration of her geography and history, which have tended to isolate her from the rest of the North American continent.

(1) Newfoundland faces the east and south. Bonavista Bay, Trinity Bay, Conception Bay, St. John's, Trepassy Bay, and Placentia, the oldest and most flourishing settlements on the island, all look away from Canada out across the Atlantic, from which, almost from time immemorial, the islanders have gathered their annual harvest of the deep. The sole interest of the Newfoundlander in the mainland was Labrador, which he had colonized himself and which to-day is a political part of Newfoundland. The innumerable coves and deep bays of Labrador were advanced bases from which the hardy islanders carried on their fishing, sealing,

and whaling industries, about which the whole life and history of Newfoundland was centred.

(2) The Newfoundlander had a traditional hatred of Canada. This hatred was rooted deep in the past. It went back to the wars between England and France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Canada had been used by the French and their Indian allies as a base for merciless raids against the English fishing settlements at St. John's, Trinity Bay, and Bonavista. Control of the priceless fisheries was the prize for which they fought. By the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, Newfoundland was declared to belong wholly to Great Britain. But for the future disquiet of the island it was provided that France might still retain certain fishing rights on the western and northern shores from Cape Bonavista to Point Rich. During the Seven Years' War the French and English fishermen were again at each others' throats. Nevertheless, though the English were victors, by the Treaty of Paris, 1763, the French were allowed to retain the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon as bases for their fishing fleet, and certain fishing rights on the east shore of Newfoundland as well. By the Treaty of Versailles, 1783, the French surrendered their fishing rights on the east, but received as compensation the right to fish along the west coast from St. John Bay to Cape Ray without any interference from the Newfoundlanders, who were ordered to withdraw their permanent settlements from this part of the coast. To make a long and complicated story short, it was not till the treaty with France in 1904 that the latter waived her long-sustained claims to interfere with the settlement of the coast, and to restrict the right of the Newfoundlanders to engage in various kinds of fishing all the year round. In the light of Newfoundland history it is little wonder, then, that the islanders were suspicious of outside restriction or interference of any kind which their union with Canada, they feared, might involve.

(3) Newfoundland, like Canada, at different periods in her history, has also felt the tremendous magnetism of the great republic to the south. Many who rejected confederation with Canada in 1867 and again in 1890 believed that the United States would be "the greatest customer and consumer of their inexhaustible fisheries," and hence that their future business relations and market lay with 63 million Americans rather than with Canada. On the other hand, Canada was a fish producer rather than a fish consumer, and was therefore a competitor with Newfoundland. Newfoundland also looked to the United States for financial assistance. The first successful telegraph-line in the island was financed by an American syndicate from New York in 1854, which also received big concessions to develop the lead mines near Placentia. The first railway from St. John's to Hall's Bay was also financed by American capital. In 1893, Newfoundland tried to secure close reciprocal trade relations with the United States by the Blaine-Bond Treaty. The Macdonald government objected to the treaty and the imperial government therefore disallowed it. Newfoundland was very angry at Canadian interference in its affairs, which made confederation proposals more distasteful than ever.

(4) However, if Canada had acted wisely in 1895, Newfoundland would in all probability have joined the Dominion. A great fire which practically destroyed St. John's in 1892, the closing of their two leading banks, and the failure of their fisheries in 1895, found the Newfoundland government willing to consider confederation with Canada on the condition that the Dominion assumed her whole indebtedness. But the Dominion government under Sir Mackenzie Bowell was inclined to drive a close bargain over the amount of the debt to be assumed. The result was that Newfoundland closed the negotiations, while Canada lost a splendid opportunity of consummating a union that would have been

of great value to both parties. However, British capitalists came to the rescue of Newfoundland, while later, Canadian capital was also employed in the successful development of iron and copper mines, and in the extension of railways on the island. New settlements sprang up near the mines and agriculture for the first time became of real importance. In 1905 the Harmsworth interests of London secured big concessions for pulp and lumber development, which has become one of Newfoundland's principal industries. In short, since the beginning of the twentieth century the whole economy of the island no longer depends upon one industry —*i.e.*, fishing—and hence Newfoundland is on the high-road to prosperity. Three Canadian banks have become the leading banking institutions on the island, so that Newfoundland depends largely on Canadian capital. Newfoundland's geographical position is of great strategic value to Canada, and as the island develops industrially, the union with Canada so long deferred may eventually take place, to the benefit of both.

Western Development after Confederation. After Confederation in 1867 the west began to play a larger part in the history of Canada. The first step ahead was the removal of the Hudson Bay Company's monopoly east of the Rocky Mountains. In 1869 the great company was asked to surrender its trade monopoly and all powers of government, for which it received certain compensations in lands and money. William Macdougall was sent out by the government to receive from the company the formal transfer of the North-West Territory. However, the French half-breeds in the Red River Settlements, many of whom were in the employ of the company, were adverse to any change. Fearful that their lands would be taken away, and their liberties curtailed, they set up a "provisional government" and organized to resist the surrender of the country to the Dominion. If the Hudson Bay officials did not secretly encourage the half-

breeds, they did nothing to prevent their organized resistance. Their leader was a French half-breed, Louis Riel. Several English settlers who opposed the provisional government were imprisoned, and one man, named Scott, was shot at Riel's command.

Manitoba, 1870. In 1870, the Dominion government decided to convert a part of the newly acquired territory into a self-governing province, the Province of Manitoba, which by the same Act was admitted into the confederation. Promises of lands and liberal treatment quieted the excited half-breeds, though an expedition under Colonel Wolsey was sent out to see that the new government was peacefully inaugurated. Riel fled to the United States at Wolsey's approach, and the new government was duly established under Lieutenant-Governor Archibald. A number of the men of Wolsey's Red River expedition remained as settlers. In 1870 the old Hudson Bay post of Fort Garry was incorporated as the city of Winnipeg, with a population of 1,869. However, the new province grew very slowly until the transcontinental railway gave easy access not only to Manitoba, but to the vast prairies farther west and north, where herds of bison still roamed at large.

British Columbia, 1871. In 1871 the recently established province of British Columbia became a member of the Dominion, on the necessary condition that a transcontinental railway be built within the next ten years to unite the west with the east.

The First Canadian Transcontinental Railway. The building of the first transcontinental railway, the Canadian Pacific, occupied the centre of the stage of Canadian history for the next few years. In 1872 a royal commission was appointed to investigate charges made in the Canadian House of Representatives by a prominent Liberal member, Mr. Huntington. It was disclosed that Sir Hugh Allan, the head of one of the two companies which had a charter for the

construction of the Pacific Railway, had made large contributions to the Conservative party in the general election of 1872. The Liberal Opposition had thrown cold water on the Government's undertaking with British Columbia to construct a Pacific railway within ten years, as a too costly and difficult task. The government was now denounced not only as extravagant but as corrupt. To Sir John Macdonald, the first Premier of Canada and the distinguished leader of the Conservative government, the construction of this great link to hold the distant provinces to the Dominion was the supreme issue before the country, and he urged this as justification for his acceptance of election funds from the directors of the Pacific Railway. This incident served to increase the unpopularity of the government.

Treaty of Washington, 1871. The Treaty of Washington of 1871 between Great Britain and the United States had also been attacked as being prejudicial to Canadian interests. Sir John Macdonald had represented the Dominion in the negotiations. It is an interesting fact that he was the first colonial statesman to serve as a commissioner in a question of international relations. This was an important recognition of Canada's position in the empire, but many Canadians believed that in the negotiations that followed their interests had been sacrificed to imperial interests. The opposition therefore made the most out of the fact that Canada had received no compensation from the United States for the Fenian raids across the border after the Civil War. Macdonald had been urged by the British commissioners not to press Canadian claims, on the understanding that as compensation an imperial loan be guaranteed for the construction of railways. It was also provided by the treaty that the disputed boundary of British Columbia should be settled by international arbitration. This was the only just and sensible course of procedure, though the fact that Emperor William of Germany, in 1872, decided the boundary in favour of the

United States was not accepted with very good grace by many Canadians.

Canadian Fisheries. Another question that came into dispute was that of the Canadian fisheries. Ever since the Treaty of Versailles, in 1783, the Americans had been granted certain fishing privileges in Canadian waters. The Convention of London in 1818 had further defined these privileges, and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 with Canada had greatly extended them. However, the bad feeling after the Civil War had led to the termination of the reciprocity arrangements by the United States in 1866, and the consequent loss of their special privileges in Canadian waters. These privileges the American fishermen were loath to give up, and a great deal of friction resulted when American boats and nets were seized. The Washington Treaty of 1871 provided that American fishermen might still retain certain privileges in Canadian waters, while Canadian fish and fish products were to be admitted duty free into the United States. But as the Canadian fisheries were so much more valuable than the American, the treaty further provided that a Fisheries Convention was to decide what additional compensation Canada should receive. Accordingly, Canada received from the United States the sum of five and a half million dollars as the excess value of its fisheries.

Unpopularity of Conservative Government. Canadian interests after all had not been so badly served, though there was ground for a wide divergence of opinion and criticism. Public opinion was inclined to be critical. The country was tired of the Conservatives, who had been in power now for about ten years. In the general election after the Pacific scandal, the Conservative government was defeated and the Liberals came into power under Alexander Mackenzie in 1873. British Columbia was very much discontented with the delay in the construction of the Pacific Railway, and in 1878 their provincial government actually passed a resolution asking Great Britain to dissolve its union with the Dominion.

Liberal Government, 1873-78. The failure of the Liberal government to tackle the railway problem, and a profound business depression during the next five years, gave Macdonald an opportunity again to appeal to the country. Macdonald now advocated what was called a "National Policy"—*i.e.*, a system of protection for Canadian industries in order to compete more successfully with the United States. He also advocated a more aggressive policy of railway construction. In the general election of 1878 Macdonald was returned with a big majority. He remained prime minister until his death in 1891, while the Conservative party continued in power till 1896.

Eighteen Years of Conservative Government, 1878-96. The greatest achievement of the Macdonald government was the completion, during its administration, of the first transcontinental railway, which was not only to link up the Dominion from ocean to ocean, but to furnish a new route to the Orient as well.

The Building of the First Transcontinental Railway. To Sanford Fleming, the pioneer engineer of the Intercolonial Railway, had been entrusted, in 1871, the stupendous task of making the preliminary surveys. For ten years Fleming and his associates laboured at what undoubtedly was the most formidable railway project in the world. The desolate region lying to the north of Lake Superior, between Ottawa and Winnipeg, was a vast waste of forest, rock, and "muskeg," or swamp. For years this impenetrable barrier had made transportation and settlement from Eastern Ontario impossible. It presented "two hundred miles of engineering impossibilities," where every mile of road would have to be hewn, blasted, or filled up. The prairie region offered no especial difficulties. The greatest problem of all was west of the prairies, to find a gateway to the Pacific coast through the mighty barrier of the Rocky Mountains, with its maze of lofty ranges, deep valleys, and torrential

rivers. This preliminary work of surveying involved the most arduous and expensive labour. By 1875 no less than thirteen different lines had been run through the valleys of British Columbia, eleven of which converged at the Yellow Head Pass. The supplies for these survey parties had to be transported through an entirely roadless and wild country. In instances where waggon-roads to supply depôts had to be constructed, this essential preliminary operation alone might cost as much as £200 a mile.

Formation of Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1880. From 1871 down to 1880 the work was carried on under the government of Canada as a national undertaking. But in 1880 this great undertaking was transferred by the government to a private corporation, the famous Canadian Pacific Railway Company, headed by George Stephen (afterwards Lord Mount Stephen) and Donald A. Smith (afterwards Lord Strathcona). In 1883 it was at last decided to run the line to the south through the Kicking Horse Pass. In building this mountain section of the railroad "every conceivable engineering problem was encountered and overcome. Along nineteen miles of this mountain route thirteen tunnels had to be pierced. In many places the roadway had to be hewn out of the rock. The work was of a dangerous nature, the men being often lowered hundreds of feet down almost perpendicular cliffs for the purpose of blasting a foothold on the mountain side." "Every foot of the road was contested, and probably every mile of tunnel and track was sealed with the blood of men. The bridging of fathomless chasms and the piercing of many mountains were accomplished only after herculean labour. There are bridges on this mountain division that hang in air—mere spider-webs of iron—three hundred and odd feet above the river they span. There are places where masonry is plastered, so to speak, against the solid rock of mountains. There are ledges midway between heaven and earth, and elevations where the whirling trains

plunge headlong into clouds, and deep cool ravines where the road-bed disputes with the darkness the realms of mysterious mountain torrents." In this way have man's resourcefulness and ingenuity overcome geography. On November 7, 1885, when Mr. Donald Smith drove the last spike, the long line of steel stretching three thousand miles across the continent was at last completed. In 1886 Sir John Macdonald with his cabinet left Montreal for Vancouver on the first train which crossed the Dominion of Canada from ocean to ocean. The "steel band of confederation" had now been forged.

Second North-West Rebellion, 1885. Before the Canadian Pacific Railway was quite finished, it was put to the practical use of transporting troops from the east to put down a serious rebellion which broke out in the North-West Territory in 1885. After confederation Manitoba had begun to fill up rapidly with settlers. The Indians and French half-breeds, who were hunters and not farmers, had left the older settlements and pushed north and west into the Saskatchewan territory. Extensive lands had been granted them there, but they had received no land titles from the government. Settlers and land surveyors began to follow them into this new country. The herds of bison, on which the Indians and half-breeds largely subsisted, were rapidly being driven off and exterminated. The government was deaf to their complaints, and finally the malcontents sent for Riel, who had been in the United States since the outbreak of 1870, to lead them in a second rebellion. In 1885 a provisional government was again established under Riel at Batoche. A government post at Duck Lake, not far from Prince Albert on the north Saskatchewan River, was seized; and when a body of North-West Mounted Police attempted to retake it they were repulsed by the rebels with serious losses. Several settlers at Frog Lake were massacred by the Indians from the near-by reservation,

and there was danger of a general Indian rising. Four thousand men, recruited from every province in the Dominion, were rushed to the nearest point on the Canadian Pacific Railway, some 324 miles west of Winnipeg. After some preliminary skirmishes, the main resistance of the rebels was crushed at Batoche.

Execution of Riel. Riel was captured, and eventually executed on the charge of treason. In French-speaking Canada the execution of Riel was fiercely denounced, since the common bond of race and religion made him appear in the light of a martyr. The Conservative party as a result lost many of their supporters in Quebec, but Ontario stood solidly behind the action of the government. The most important result of the rebellion was to concentrate public interest on the opening up and settlement of these vast areas, whose great fertility and boundless resources were just beginning to be appreciated.

Economic Development. The eighteen years of Conservative government after 1878 were a period of transition and adjustment to new conditions. Many phases of farming in the west and of mining were as yet in the experimental stage. Competition was very keen; prices were fluctuating, markets were uncertain with a tendency to over-production. In spite of the transcontinental railway, immigration was slow. Many settlers were going from the Canadian west into the United States, so that during the eighties the population of Canada increased only 11·76 per cent., as against an increase of 24·86 per cent. in the United States during the same time. Nevertheless, the foundations were being laid for Canada's coming days of prosperity, and those days were soon to come.

Death of Sir J. A. Macdonald and Decline of Conservative Party. After the death of the great Conservative leader, Sir John Macdonald, in 1891, there were four Conservative premiers in five years. In 1895 the attempt

of Manitoba to abolish separate Roman Catholic schools in the province became a question of fierce political controversy. In the general election of 1896 the Conservatives lost their long-maintained supremacy in Quebec, and the Liberals were returned to power with Wilfrid Laurier as prime minister. This was the beginning of a long period of Liberal government (1896-1911), during which time, and since, Canada has developed with such amazing rapidity that in proportion her record surpasses even the remarkable growth of the United States. Very aptly did Sir Wilfrid Laurier say, in referring to the wonderful record of Canada since 1900: "The nineteenth century was the United States'; the twentieth century will be Canada's."

Canada in the Twentieth Century. The amazing development of Western Canada in the twentieth century is one of the most notable features of this period. The building of the first transcontinental railway had made the western territories more accessible to emigration, but down to 1896 the increase of population had been on the whole disappointing. A marked change came after 1896, when the tide of emigration set towards Canada. This was due in part to changing economic, social, and political conditions in Europe and in the United States; and in part to the vigorous immigration policy of the Liberal government, launched by Clifford Sifton, minister of the interior. This new immigration propaganda was carried on systematically in the United States, Great Britain, and Continental Europe. Agencies, agricultural displays, and advertisements in nearly every language set forth the exceptional advantages of the Canadian west. The statistical summary for fifteen years of Liberal rule (1896-1911) can speak for itself. During this period the total emigration to Canada was over 2 millions. About 38 per cent. of this total came from the United Kingdom, 26 from Continental Europe, and 34 from the United States. In other words,

the population of Canada had jumped from not quite 5 millions in 1896 to $7\frac{1}{4}$ millions in 1911. This increase is without precedent in the history of any country.

Two New Provinces established in the West in 1905. By 1905 the southern districts in the North-West Territories had attained a sufficiently advanced economic and social development to warrant the status of autonomous provinces under the Dominion. Two new provinces were to be carved out of the North-West Territory. Thus this vast territory, which at the confederation comprised about half the area of Canada, has been reduced by repeated annexations to the region lying north of the sixtieth parallel, between Yukon Territory on the west and Hudson Bay on the east. In 1905 the Dominion government established the two new provinces, Saskatchewan, with its capital at Regina, now a city with a population of nearly 40,000, and Alberta, with its capital at Edmonton, also a flourishing city of over 57,000. The virgin prairie soil, immigration, and rapid railway construction have been the principal factors in this development.

The Construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific, 1903-14. In 1903 a second transcontinental railway was projected to meet the growing demands of western expansion, and to develop the vast hinterlands of eastern Canada. This new transcontinental route, the Grand Trunk Pacific, was completed in 1914, running from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to Moncton, New Brunswick, through northern Quebec and Ontario to Winnipeg. From here the line runs far north of the Canadian Pacific Railway, finding its gateway through the Rocky Mountains by the Yellow Head Pass, and so on to Prince Rupert at the Pacific coast. The construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific has been another tremendous task, demanding the highest qualities of organization and engineering skill. Here again, as in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the pre-

liminary operations were of the most arduous and exacting nature. First, "caches," or depots of supplies, have to be established at strategic points along the line of communication for the survey parties, and afterwards for the construction gangs. The location of these supply-depots is performed by pack horse or mule in summer, and by dog teams and Indian carriers in winter, when the treacherous snow and ice bring dangers untold. As about 50 per cent. of the area of Northern Ontario is water, shallow-draft steamers and canoes are also pressed into service. The labour of carrying supplies over the numerous "portages" from one body of water to another, and the danger from rapids and hidden rocks, adds greatly to the cost of transportation, not only in money but in human life as well. After the first line has been run by the surveyors, and the right of way, 100 feet wide, cleared through the forest, the work on "the grade" for the road-bed proper begins—a mighty struggle with muskeg, rock, and ravine. In certain places where conditions are favourable the grade can be advanced very rapidly. But sometimes when a bad piece of muskeg has to be crossed, or a "sink-hole" bridged, many months may pass, and thousands of tons of rock and gravel be dumped down the grade before the water-level alone will be gained.

Mechanical Devices for Railway Construction. In handling the grading materials powerful steam shovels are employed. The largest machines of this kind can swing in one load $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubic yards of rock, representing from four to five tons in weight. Owing to the vast distances in Canada the metals are laid by an ingenious machine called a "track-layer." This is a huge, complicated contrivance which automatically disgorges the sleepers and swings the heavy rails into place, when they are immediately spiked down by the construction gang. When fully manned the track-layer employs about 150 men; and under favourable con-

ditions, as on the prairies, between three and four miles a day can be laid. In the construction of the mountain section of the railway, the surveyors and engineers of the Grand Trunk Pacific have performed a wonderful feat.

The Favourable Grade of Grand Trunk Pacific through Mountains. The path selected through the Yellow Head Pass affords the Grand Trunk Pacific a tremendous advantage in respect to railway haulage over any other transcontinental line. The Canadian Pacific Railway, for instance, when it crosses the highest point of the Rockies has a maximum grade to overcome of from 116 to 118 feet per mile, with two summits to cross. But the Grand Trunk Pacific has a maximum grade of only from 21 to 26 feet per mile, with but one summit to surmount at a much lower elevation than that of any line on the continent. This is an engineering feat without parallel in the history of railway construction in North America. In Northern Ontario and Quebec—to the south of James Bay—the survey for the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway led to the discovery of the famous "clay-belt," in a region which before was believed to be worthless except for lumber and pulp wood. Instead there was opened up an arable area of some 15,000,000 acres of the finest and most fertile agricultural country in the world. In this region were also discovered coal, gold, silver, and other minerals of commerce, which further enhance its economic value.

Construction of Canadian Northern Railway, the Third Transcontinental Railroad, 1915. In 1915 the third transcontinental railway, the Canadian Northern, was completed by the amalgamation and linking up of a number of smaller lines in both Eastern and Western Canada, some of which had been in operation for a number of years. In 1916 Canada had 37,434 miles of steam railways in operation. The construction of these railways has reclaimed to civilization vast areas of Canada. The farmer, who must ever

be the real backbone of the economic life of Canada, has occupied the arable land on either side of the railway-lines.

Relation of Railway Construction to Development of Country. Countless little towns have sprung up at important points, many to become populous cities in a few years. "Within less than ten years the construction of parts of the Grand Trunk Pacific alone has been responsible for creating about 120 towns, and populating them to the extent of about 50,000 people." The history of railway construction is one of the most romantic and important phases of Canadian development.

Economic and Industrial Growth. Canada's economic and industrial expansion in the twentieth century has also been remarkable. On coming into power in 1896, the Liberal government very wisely did not attempt to reverse the fiscal policy of the Conservative régime. The tariff was not abolished but revised by Mr. Fielding, the new minister of finance, with reductions on certain articles and increased bounties on others. The most distinctive feature of the new tariff policy was a special preference given to British goods in 1897. The opening of the west and north provided the expanding markets needed by the Canadian manufacturer, so that the twentieth century has been aptly called "the manufacturer's Golden Age." In foreign trade there has also been a marked expansion. Since 1895 the total value of Canadian imports and exports has been quadrupled. Of the great mineral resources of Canada the surface has only as yet been scratched. But since 1867 the products of mines have been increased tenfold, and their exports thirty-four fold. In the world's production of nickel, asbestos, and corundum Canada now stands first. In wheat Canada stands fourth as the world's producer. Of her other great resources in lumber, pulp wood, fish, water-power for generating electricity, etc., further mention cannot be made here.

Relations with the U.S.A. since 1900. The twentieth century has been an era of goodwill with the United States. The Alaskan Boundary decision of 1903 caused a temporary flare-up of resentment in Canada, Great Britain also coming in for her share, because of the sacrifice, as some thought, of Canadian interests to the maintenance of friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States. It is true that Canada did not get what she wanted—viz., an ocean outlet for her Yukon territory; nevertheless she probably received all that any impartial tribunal would have awarded her under the circumstances.

Since 1905 Canada and the United States have co-operated in the control of their boundary rivers and lakes through a joint International Waterways Commission, to which certain questions relating to the regulation of navigation and the development of water power are referred. This willingness to arbitrate matters of difference between the two countries has provided a practical example of the effectiveness of arbitration as a method of settling international disputes. Indeed, it is unthinkable that any question could arise between these two peoples incapable of settlement by arbitration. In the matter of trade relations, ever since the withdrawal of the Reciprocity Agreement of 1854 Canada had been anxious to secure reciprocal trade privileges with the United States. Many a deputation journeyed to Washington to secure the desired agreement, only to return empty handed. However, by 1910 the situation was almost reversed. The growing sentiment for closer trade relations within the empire and the rapid expansion of her home markets had made Canada more self-sufficient and less disposed to go hat in hand to Washington. Therefore, when the United States made a proposal for reciprocal free trade on terms almost as favourable as those of 1854, it was rejected by the Canadian Government. The agricultural interests of Canada—especially the West—strongly favoured reciprocity with the

United States; and if the question had not been made an election issue it would probably have been accepted. However, an election appeal to national and imperial sentiment won out against the logic of economics, and so reciprocity was turned down. It was largely on the reciprocity issue and the question of Canada's naval programme that the Liberal government was defeated and the Conservatives returned to power under Robert L. Borden in 1911.

Imperial Relations. The development of imperial relations is another outstanding feature of Canadian history in the twentieth century. The diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897 brought different members of the Empire together, and Laurier, at this time made Sir Wilfrid Laurier, was present as Canada's most distinguished representative. An important incident of this Jubilee year was the holding of the third Colonial Conference, at which, and at subsequent conferences, many questions vital to the empire were discussed. In this same year Canada gave the first colonial preference to British goods, a practical step towards closer commercial union within the Empire. In the following year a two-cent postage was adopted for all letters to the great self-governing colonies. This was another important factor in promoting intercourse within the Empire. In 1899 the South African War broke out, when the Canadian government, for the first time in its history, sent troops abroad to participate in an imperial war. This was a momentous step in the direction of closer union within the Empire for defence. Western Canada and Ontario were most insistent that Canada should participate in the war, but to a lesser degree French-speaking Canada, while Henri Bourassa, the leader of the French Nationalists, most vigorously opposed the step. However, over 8,000 Canadians of all ranks, mostly from Ontario and the west, volunteered their services for the Empire, and showed themselves not wanting in discipline and courage.

Canadian Naval Programme. Another important in-

cident relative to the question of imperial defence was the Canadian naval programme of 1910-11. Mr. Borden favoured a direct contribution to the imperial navy. But the policy eventually adopted by the Laurier government was along the lines of a Dominion fleet unit, which could be placed at the disposal of the imperial government in time of war. It was also proposed to establish a naval college at Halifax and to build two large naval dockyards. Political controversy has delayed the carrying out of this policy. Broadly speaking, however, co-operation rather than concentration for imperial defence has been the policy most favoured in Canada. For in Canada, as in Australia, this line seems more in harmony with the national aspirations and development of the great self-governing colonies within the Empire.

Canada and the Great War. No account of the development of imperial relations would be complete without a passing reference to Canada's contribution since 1914 to the defence of the Empire and of the world's freedom. Within two months after the declaration of war against Germany Canada had raised and equipped an expeditionary force of 33,000 men. This in itself was no mean achievement for a non-military people unprepared for war. With a population of a little over seven millions, Canada continued to maintain at the front an army of 300,000 men. In all about 611,000 men were raised in Canada, of whom about 475,000 were obtained by voluntary enlistment. For war expenditure alone, not including loans to Great Britain and her allies, Canada expended practically a billion dollars. Of the part Canadian troops have played in the Great War no account can be given here. But names like Neuve Chapelle, Ypres, Festubert, St. Eloi, and Vimy Ridge have now become a part of the history of Canada. On November 11, 1918, Canadian troops entered Mons. This was the closing achievement of the war before the signing of the armistice. Thus by a strange coincidence the sons of Britain's overseas

Dominion finished at Mons, where the "contemptible little army" of Britain had first begun the great struggle. Canada of the twentieth century has proved her devotion to the Empire; she has also achieved a place among the democracies of the world in the great war against militarism and autocracy.

We have now seen how Canada grew from a conquered French province on the banks of the St. Lawrence, to a powerful Dominion embracing the northern half of a vast continent, and how a dependent colony has developed into a self-governing nation of over seven millions. At the same time Canada is one in that splendid commonwealth of nations otherwise called the British Empire. She is bound to this Empire by a community of blood, language, and institutions, by loyalty to a common Sovereign, and by devotion to those common ideals of democracy and freedom which are the strongest ties of empire.

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THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

I.—FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY OF PEACE

The Declaration of Independence. After a little over one year of hostilities between Great Britain and her revolting American colonies there was promulgated at Philadelphia on July 4, 1776, by the delegates to the revolutionary Continental Congress, the Declaration of Independence. "We hold these truths," they declared therein, "to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." These earnest patriots thereupon arraigned King George III. and pronounced him guilty of manifold acts of tyranny, and, "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world" as witness to the rectitude of their intentions, proceeded to announce, "That these United Colonies are . . . Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that . . . as Free and Independent States they have full Power . . . to do all . . . Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do."

When critically examined, the Declaration is found considerably lacking in foundation in both theory and fact. It must be considered rather as expressing apprehension of the fate about to befall the American people—while offering a social ideal which humanity is called upon to realize—than

as presenting a sober recital of the relations existing between the Crown and the Colonies previous to the defiance of the home government by the Boston radicals in 1774 in connection with the tea riots. Nevertheless, this historic document justly occupies a peculiar place in the affections of the people of the United States; for in magic words of lofty idealism it sounded the call to liberty and equality, and since that day Americans have found in it the source of their finest political inspiration.

The New York Campaign. In the main, the war had been going favourably for the Continentals up to the Declaration of Independence—in spite of the disastrous attempt by Richard Montgomery and Benedict Arnold to conquer Canada in the winter of 1775. What had especially encouraged them was that in March, 1776, Washington had succeeded in forcing the Crown forces from Boston. However, hand in hand with the news of the birth of the American nation, there was spread the ominous tidings that the Howe brothers had appeared before New York with a great armada of fighting ships and soldier-laden transports with the manifest design of capturing the city. Washington did his utmost to defend this strategic seaport and the region of the Hudson, but after risking his army in the battle of Long Island, and after a sharp engagement at White Plains, he was forced to flee precipitately through New Jersey and across the Delaware. It seemed as though the revolt was about to collapse completely. That it did not was due partly to the fact that Howe wasted his opportunity in projects for conciliating the colonials, and thus gave Washington the precious time needed to reorganize and to cheer the faint-hearted by taking the offensive. During the winter of 1776-77 he was able to outmanœuvre his opponents at Trenton and at Princeton in New Jersey; following this there were months of inaction, with Howe resting comfortably at New York.

Burgoyne's Campaign. The ministry had by this time entered upon a strategically sound plan that promised success, which was to separate the New England colonies from the rest, thus making it impossible for the colonials to operate longer upon a unified basis. According to this plan, Howe and Sir Henry Clinton were to proceed up the Hudson, Colonel Barry St. Leger was to march from Oswego on Lake Ontario eastward through the valley of the Mohawk, while General John Burgoyne was to move southward from Montreal by way of Lake Champlain. Albany was to be the objective in each case. But Howe, by the mistake of Secretary Germain, lacked positive orders, and chose to embark upon an enterprise of his own; St. Leger was forced to turn back, while Burgoyne, some distance north of Albany, found himself in a trap. With his men facing starvation, and after considerable hard fighting, he was compelled to surrender a force numbering six thousand to General Horatio Gates at Saratoga in October, 1777. This was a great disaster. Not even Howe's preceding victories over Washington at Brandywine and at Germantown, with the resulting occupation of Philadelphia, the home of the Continental Congress, sufficiently offset it. For France, by no means reconciled to the loss of Canada and longing for a diminution of British power, seized upon this success as sufficient evidence that the Americans were able to stand alone as a people; she not only recognized their independence of Great Britain, but, changing her secret aid to open aid, entered into a formal alliance with them. The problem of putting down the revolt, complex as it was from the beginning, now bristled with new difficulties.

War in the South. In the early winter of 1778 the British generals revealed a new plan of action. While holding New York—for by this time Philadelphia had been evacuated—and thus keeping Washington's army on the

watch in the north, they sent a strong force to the southernmost colony for the purpose of rallying the numerous loyalists living there, and with their aid stamping out the revolt in that section. It was purposed that a northward movement should then begin with the idea of gradually "rolling up the colonies from the south." Although early in 1779 the eastern parts of Georgia and South Carolina were brought under control, and although Lord Cornwallis inflicted a crushing defeat upon Gates at Camden in August, 1780, resistance in the form of guerrilla warfare continued. In October of the latter year, Major Ferguson's troops were almost annihilated at King's Mountain by western sharpshooters fighting in Indian fashion, while early in 1781 Sir Banastre Tarleton was defeated at Cowpens by General Daniel Morgan. Morgan was serving under General Nathaniel Greene, who had succeeded Gates in command of southern operations; and Cornwallis, after the news of Cowpens, decided that he would crush Greene before Morgan could join him. This resulted in an exciting chase which ended in upper North Carolina, where Morgan finally united his forces with those of his commander, thus allowing the latter to turn on Cornwallis in September, and fight the indecisive battle of Guilford Court House. Cornwallis now felt obliged to desert the interior, and moved slowly to Wilmington on the coast. The "rolling up" project was manifestly a failure.

The Last Stage of the War. There was a feeling on the part of the British officers engaged in the south that Georgia and the Carolinas could be quieted if Virginia were brought under control. According to reports, there were large numbers of Virginia loyalists who could be relied upon to aid in this work. Cornwallis, therefore, proceeded to enter Virginia, where General Benedict Arnold—a dashing commander who had deserted the American cause in September, 1780, and who at the same time had sought to

betray it in attempting to deliver over to Clinton West Point on the Hudson, where he was in charge—was operating against the youthful Frenchman, Marquis de Lafayette. Not long after taking charge of the Virginia campaign, Cornwallis again felt obliged to seek the coast in order to be in touch with the fleet. With great rapidity, Washington, accompanied by the Comte de Rochambeau with a strong French force, now moved south from New York, and joining Lafayette, proceeded to besiege the British at Yorktown. Before Clinton, who had succeeded Howe at New York, could take any effective steps to relieve Cornwallis, the latter, cut off from escape by water by a hovering French fleet under de Grasse and facing superior numbers of Americans and Frenchmen, was forced to surrender with about seven thousand troops, on October 19, 1781. This catastrophe was more than the British ministry could stand, and early the following year parliament went on record as opposing any further efforts to coerce the thirteen colonies.

Reasons for the Success of the Revolt. In considering the causes for the failure of the home government to suppress the revolt, certain factors must be given due weight. First of all, while the struggle was in the nature of a civil war, the majority of the supporters of the King in the colonies were not so situated as to bring to the government very effective aid, although thousands enlisted in the royal forces. Again, since the war was not popular in England, the ministry was compelled to supplement the forces of the regular army with mercenaries furnished by the German princes. This was deeply resented by large numbers of Americans, who at the beginning of the war might have been classed as neutrals, and it certainly injured the King's cause. Moreover, in view of the magnitude of the task in hand, the number of troops was at all times utterly inadequate. The British generals, under

the circumstances, were forced to adapt their strategy to the necessity of keeping closely in touch with the supply ships and the navy; for whenever they plunged into the interior, they sooner or later found themselves in a perilous situation in the presence of swarms of farmers and frontiersmen, who were easily rallied for the occasion.

The desire for reconciliation also led the leaders not infrequently—and this was especially true of the Howes—to assume a very hesitating attitude at times when decisiveness was needed from a military point of view. Then the French alliance, under the peculiar conditions, proved to be of almost incalculable value to the revolutionaries. However, undoubtedly the single greatest obstacle that confronted the British in their efforts to preserve the unity of the empire was the influence exerted by George Washington in maintaining the spirits of the supporters of the Revolution; most Americans had almost implicit confidence in his judgment and wisdom. Indeed, even in the darkest hours, when, as at Valley Forge, his soldiers were freezing, and starving, and deserting, he showed the most exceptional strength of character and the highest qualities of leadership. Although certainly no military genius, he proved himself in this crisis worthy to be known as "the father of his country."

The Loyalists. One unhappy result of the contest must be mentioned; that is, the lot of the loyalists. It has been estimated that over sixty thousand of these Americans, many of them members of leading colonial families, their estates having been confiscated, fled from persecution into exile before the final evacuation of New York by the royal forces. In vain the British government attempted to secure for them the restitution of their property; ultimately many thousands of them found their way into Canada and became, as it were, the backbone of the present-day flourishing Canadian civilization.

The Treaty of 1783. In England, the North ministry gave way to the Shelburne-Fox ministry, and, in spite of the retirement of Fox, who was a leading advocate of Anglo-American friendship, a treaty was agreed upon by the British and American commissioners which could hardly have been worded more favourably for American interests. Roughly speaking, the boundaries of the United States were defined by the water divide along the east, north, and west of Maine, by the upper St. Lawrence and by a line running through the centre of lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Superior, and then on to the Lake of the Woods, and from there to the Mississippi and along that river south to the 31st degree, then to the Atlantic by way of the Apalachicola, the Flint, and the St. Mary's rivers. This guaranteed to the young nation a great future to the west of the Appalachians. There was, moreover, accorded to Americans the right to fish off the Banks, as well as liberty of inshore fishing on Newfoundland and along the Canadian coast, and the privilege of curing the fish—considerations that meant almost everything to the New England of that day. On the other hand, the navigation of the Mississippi was to be free to both nations, although Great Britain later on gave up this concession when it was found that that river did not penetrate, as was then supposed, into Canadian territory. As to pre-war debts, they were to be considered still binding upon the people of each country, and regarding the confiscated loyalist estates it was agreed that the Continental Congress should "earnestly recommend" to the state legislatures that restitution should be made. This recommendation was made, but that was all that came of it. In spite of Spanish influence, which was directed toward preventing the United States from acquiring the lands to the Mississippi, France was brought to agree to the treaty, which was signed September 3, 1783.

II.—FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONFEDERATION TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The Articles of Confederation. Until March 1, 1781, the revolutionary interests were cared for by the Second Continental Congress, made up of delegates appointed by the state revolutionary gatherings; but on this date, to meet the needs of the situation, the so-called Articles of Confederation, drawn up in 1776 by a committee of the Congress and adopted by that body in 1777, became effective after having been accepted by all of the state governments. Under this instrument there was to be a legislature of one chamber, which would also administer the common interests of the country by means of permanent or special committees, showing the deep distrust of an executive power, independent of the legislature, held by the American people of that period. Again, distrust of a centralized form of government, and a corresponding exaltation of the individual states, was indicated by the provision that, irrespective of the number of delegates that a state was entitled to have, each state should cast but one vote on all questions. On the more important questions, at least nine favourable votes were required, and no change in the adopted Articles was to take place except through the consent of all the states. Had the new government possessed the power to act directly on the individual in such matters as taxation and in maintaining public order, all might have gone well, but it was simply the government for a confederation of sovereign states, and not the embodiment of national sovereignty. It attempted to pay the interest on the war debts incurred by the Continental Congress, but could not; nor could it stabilize conditions in other respects no less important. In fact the country was threatened, as time went on, not alone with bankruptcy, but with disturbed political conditions almost

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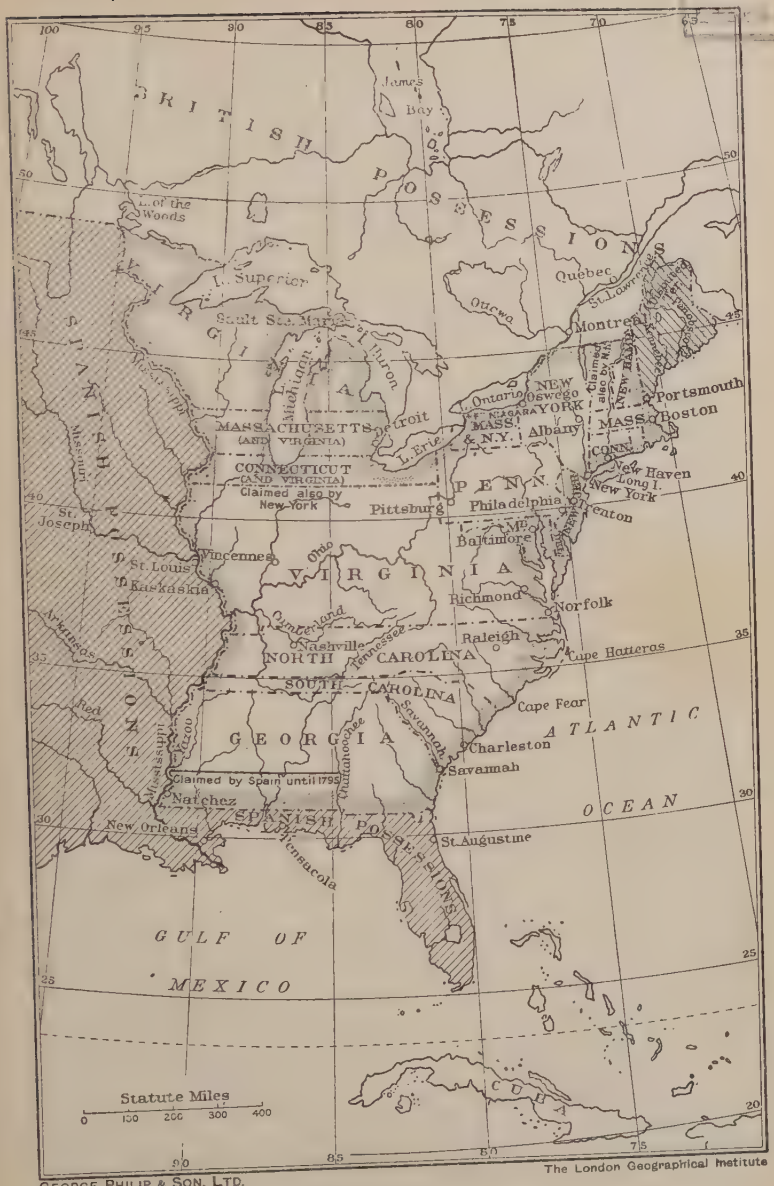

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U.S.A. AT THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION.

bordering upon anarchy. Clearly something had to be done. To grapple with the problems confronting the American people, a convention of delegates was called to meet in Philadelphia in May, 1787, for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation.

The Convention of 1787. The Constitutional Convention was in session for almost four months under the presidency of Washington. With but few exceptions the states sent their ablest men, among whom none was more influential in the deliberations than James Madison, of Virginia. The Convention had not been at work long before it was generally realized that something more drastic than a revision of the Articles was needed. Thereupon the delegates became divided roughly into two groups: one favouring the "big states" plan of government prepared by Madison and presented by Edmund Randolph of Virginia, which emphasized the idea that the states should have a power in legislation in proportion to the population of each; the other, standing by the principle of the equality of the states, big and little, in legislation, and favouring the "small states" plan of William Paterson of New Jersey. As neither side would yield, the Convention was in danger of breaking up; but a compromise was struck whereby it was agreed that in providing two chambers for the national legislature instead of one, the lower should be elected upon the basis of the Randolph plan, and the upper upon the basis of the Paterson plan. Other issues arose, involving the interests of the northern commercial class on the one hand, and those of the southern planter class on the other; these also were compromised by conceding, to the former that the central government should control both foreign and interstate commerce, and to the latter—which raised tobacco and rice for the foreign markets by means of slave labour—that no export tax should be levied and that the importation of negroes should not be pro-

hibited by congress before 1808. Likewise, on the questions involving both the apportionment of representation in congress and the incidence of direct taxation, an agreement was reached whereby the proportion for each state should be based upon an enumeration of population which would include three-fifths of the number of slaves—who otherwise were considered as chattels in the new instrument of government.

When the Convention had finished its labours, it had—largely on the basis of colonial experience as a precedent—provided for a powerful federal government, yet also one of balances and checks as between the individual states and the central authority, and as between the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the latter. The federal government was given control of all matters involving foreign relations, as well as of matters of a domestic nature which the confederation period had shown could not well be left to the states, such as taxation for national purposes; its powers were enumerated, and under the Constitution thus framed all other powers—that the people had delegated—were to reside in the state governments. The machinery of federal control consisted of (1) a congress made up of a senate composed of two members from each state holding office for six years, and of a house of representatives which was renewed every two years; (2) a president with a term of four years who would control the executive activities of the government and also influence legislation by means of a veto which required the votes of two-thirds in both houses of congress to override; (3) a supreme court which, among other things, was called on to protect through its decisions the constitution and the statutes of the federal government. Such, briefly, was the character of the Constitution. The next problem confronting the delegates who supported it was to secure its adoption. The Articles of Confederation declared that no amendment of this instrument was to be

made except by the consent of all the states; ignoring this, the Convention recommended to congress—which transmitted the recommendation to the states—that the Constitution should become effective for the ratifying states when nine of them had voted to accept it. In spite of fierce opposition in some of the states, within a year all but two—North Carolina and Rhode Island—had done so, and even these later on were brought to declare their adhesion to the new government. The old congress of the confederation thereupon ordered elections to be held under the adopted instrument in the eleven adopting states, and, as a result of these, Washington was unanimously chosen by the college of electors early in February, 1789, as the first President of the United States, and was inaugurated the last day of April of that year.

III.—THE PERIOD OF THE FEDERALISTS

Washington's Administration. In setting in motion the machinery of the government, President Washington called to his side as advisers two remarkable men, both destined to influence profoundly American political ideals and policy: Thomas Jefferson, as secretary of state, and Alexander Hamilton, as secretary of the treasury. These men, both trained in the law, represented directly opposite points of view. Jefferson was a Virginian from the agricultural and democratic up-country, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and a most fervent believer in its idealism. While accepting a position in the national administration, he was suspicious of it, for he was opposed to centralizing political authority beyond that which was absolutely necessary. Hamilton, on the other hand, not only reflected the spirit of that already thriving commercial centre, New York, but also surpassed most Americans in the ardour of his nationalism; for he would have preferred to have the

individual states stripped of all their sovereign power and reduced to the status of mere administrative units. As might be anticipated, it was not long before the two men were hopelessly at odds.

Financial Legislation. One of the most serious problems confronting the administration was the grave financial situation inherited from the confederation. The paper certificates of indebtedness were so depreciated that they were worth only about one-fourth or one-fifth of their face value. Hamilton proposed to fund the debt of some $54,000,000 by calling in the certificates at par. In the face of the opposition of Jefferson and his friends, who charged that it was a money-speculator scheme, a measure to this effect was passed through congress. The secretary of the treasury then recommended that the federal government should assume all of the outstanding debts of the individual states incurred in connection with the late war; so hostile to this, however, were members of congress, especially from the South, that it could be placed on the statute-books only by a bargain with Jefferson whereby in consideration for the needed Southern votes Hamilton was to use his influence to have the national capital located in the south. As Hamilton could foresee, the "funding" and "assumption" laws gave prestige to the federal government in the eyes of Americans. This prestige, moreover, was increased in the year 1794, when there occurred among the people of Western Pennsylvania the so-called Whisky Rebellion, as a protest against an excise tax on distilled liquors; for the "rebellion" utterly collapsed in the face of an overwhelming military force sent into that section of the country to vindicate the law of the nation. One other achievement of the brilliant young financier and nationalist needs to be noted: the creation of a United States Bank. Jefferson could find no authority for this in the Constitution, and sought to persuade Washington to veto a bill providing

merce, with the result that reprisals were ordered. A naval "war" ensued in which over eighty armed French ships were captured. The French government then came to terms, and in 1800 a convention was entered into whereby the United States was allowed to withdraw from the treaty of 1778, the only "entangling" alliance into which she has ever entered.

The Alien and Sedition Laws. One of the things that embarrassed particularly both Washington and Adams in dealing with the foreign situation was the violence of the attacks made upon the administration by Republican newspapers, many of the writers for which were Frenchmen. In an attempt to curb the agitators, the Federalists in congress passed under Adams in 1797 certain restraining Acts known as the Alien and Sedition Laws, which provided heavy penalties for defaming those in authority, and empowered the president to order dangerous aliens out of the country. The Republicans felt that the Acts were mere partisan attacks. The result was that the state legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky, where Republican sentiment swept everything before it, were led to pass resolutions—those of Kentucky framed by Jefferson and those of Virginia by his friend James Madison—in which the sovereignty of the separate states was reaffirmed, the usurping tendencies of the federal government denounced, and the proposition set forth that the states had a right to decide for themselves how far the national authority should be considered binding, and to maintain "within their limits the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them." While Jefferson and Madison probably did not advocate nullification of federal laws by the individual states, their resolutions were in after years to be used as the foundation for certain extreme state rights theories, which did strike at the national integrity.

IV.—FROM THE ELECTION OF JEFFERSON TO THE END OF THE WAR OF 1812

The Election of 1800. In the elections of 1800, the country showed that it was wearied of the Federalist régime. But now an unexpected situation arose, because Jefferson and an unscrupulous New York politician, Aaron Burr, received the same number of Republican electoral votes, while the Constitution provided that the one getting the majority of votes should be president, and the one getting the next largest number, vice-president. Although Jefferson was the choice of the Republicans for the presidency, it was necessary under the Constitution to allow the lower house of congress to make the decision, voting by states. Hamilton now had the opportunity of heaping coals of fire on the head of his great rival, for he used his influence among the Federalists in congress to secure the election of Jefferson. Burr never forgave Hamilton for this, and as both men were deeply engaged in New York state politics, other occasions for friction arose. Finding himself continually thwarted in his machinations by Hamilton, Burr became desperate under his attacks, and in 1804 challenged him to a duel and killed him.

The Constitution Amended. The presidential contest had made clear a defect in the Constitution. As a result, an amendment was carried which so altered the mode of electing the president and the vice-president that the electors voted for each separately.

The Revolution of 1800. The coming into power of the Republican party is often termed the Revolution of 1800. The old governing group which had stood for aristocracy in government now gave place to men with new political ideals, to men untried in public life, who were held to possess by their opponents dangerous democratic notions.

President Jefferson had gained much of his prestige as an expounder of the Constitution, and he was now to be given an opportunity to test the soundness of his theories. In his inaugural address he declared, among other things, his opposition to armaments of war; he advocated extreme simplicity and economy in government; he conceived the happiness of the people to depend upon their adhering to a predominantly agricultural form of life, and their future greatness in the westward expansion of their civilization upon the North American continent. Under Jefferson, much to the scandal of the foreign diplomats, the rigid court etiquette of the White House disappeared, the president receiving his elaborately costumed guests in the most unconventional attire; and he was no less unconventional in conversation. As for economy, his highly capable secretary of the treasury, Albert Gallatin, succeeded in reducing the public debt by over one-third; true to his inaugural principles, the president also fostered agriculture and aided vastly in promoting westward expansion. With regard to the latter it is necessary to say something at this point.

The Westward Movement. Undoubtedly the most significant factor in American history is that of the continuous westward movement of the English-speaking people across the continent of North America. This movement has given birth to most of the great domestic problems that the United States has been obliged to face; it has given birth to institutions and political machinery peculiarly American, and even to a type of individual who is a blend of the spirit of uniformity and the culture of the old-world civilization of the Atlantic seaboard with the virility, initiative, and rough individualism of the frontier west. Even before the American Revolution, "the west" had become a distinct factor in shaping the political and social ideals of the colonials. Jefferson himself was identified

with what has been called the Old West—the upland or Piedmont country east of the Appalachian range—which, settled by small farmers, often stood in sharp opposition to the highly aristocratic tendencies and sectional policies of the great planters of the tide-water. Also before the revolution, settlers had begun to push their way over the mountain barriers into the eastern fringes of the vast Mississippi Valley, and before long a new west was coming into existence. As was previously stated, the former thirteen colonies by the treaty of 1783 had been confirmed in the possession of the lands between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River. These western lands were claimed by individual states, and soon became a source of contention, since claims overlapped, and some of the states were without title to any of these lands. In fact, Maryland would not enter the confederation established in 1781 until the other states had agreed to surrender their claims to the new government in order that the lands might be used for the benefit of all; this was gradually done between the years 1781 and 1802. In 1787 the congress of the confederation passed an ordinance for the political organization of North-west Territory lying north of the Ohio River, which has had a profound influence on all later legislation affecting western colonization. One of the most important provisions was that providing for the creation of states out of the public domain that were to take their places in the Union on terms of equality with the original states. Slavery was forbidden.

The New West and Spain. Meanwhile, the lands on either side of the Ohio were filling up, and the ring of the axe and the crack of the rifle were everywhere heard in this forest country. But these frontiersmen proved very restless; there was a feeling among them that the United States government was not much interested in the fate of those living in this trans-Appalachian region, and therefore could not be depended upon to take the necessary steps to

guarantee their economic future by making sure of their access to the markets of the world by the only possible route at that period, the Mississippi River, the lower portion of which was held by Spain. Indeed, in 1781 Congress had voted in favour of making a treaty with that country upon the basis that the latter might close the lower Mississippi to American navigation. So discouraging did the situation appear that some of the leaders in the Kentucky country, such as the notorious Wilkinson, began to conspire with Spain, and entered her pay. The eastern politicians at last began to realize that the men of the New West would not submit indefinitely to dictation from over the mountains, and that their wants must be satisfied. Therefore, in 1792 the Kentucky district was permitted to become a state within the Union; in 1796 the state of Tennessee was organized, and in 1802, the year after Jefferson took office, the state of Ohio came into existence. The principle thus became firmly established that western territories, when ripe for statehood, should not be held in a position of dependence upon the parent states of the east. At last the New West was becoming a political factor of the highest importance.

The Purchase of Louisiana. It was at this juncture that the news reached America that Louisiana, a great stretch of territory extending roughly from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, which France had ceded to Spain in 1763, had been receded to France. In November, 1802, information was brought over the mountains that the Spanish authorities, in spite of an agreement made in the Spanish treaty of 1795, had forbidden the Americans to use New Orleans as a place of deposit for their goods. This was considered very significant in light of the approaching transfer. It did not take President Jefferson long to grasp the situation and to arrive at the conviction that no powerful and aggressive nation, such as France under the First

Consul, should ever be allowed to control the only water outlet of the trans-mountain region. In a letter intended for publicity he threatened that, "The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her for ever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations which, in conjunction, can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." But he did not stop with this. James Monroe, former minister to France, whom Washington had recalled for indiscretion, was sent back now as a special envoy with authority to buy New Orleans and the Floridas. By the time that Monroe had arrived in France, Napoleon had come to the conclusion that with a new war impending with England, it would be well to get rid not only of New Orleans but of Louisiana as well, and on April 30, 1803, the treaty was signed by which the original area of the United States was more than doubled in exchange for the paltry sum of $15,000,000. However, the Floridas were not included in this.

When the news of the treaty reached America, no one was more astonished than Jefferson. For, as a strict constructionist, he felt obliged to ask himself how the government could legally annex any such body of territory, when the Constitution had not empowered it to do so. Should he repudiate the treaty or his theory? Confronted by this dilemma, he chose to accept the treaty and to regard his act as extra-constitutional and justified only by the nature of the crisis—after vainly suggesting that the Constitution should be amended so as to allow specifically the federal government to acquire territory. Some years later the Supreme Court put the question of constitutionality at rest by declaring that ample provision was made in the Constitution for territorial expansion, either by treaty or by conquest resulting from war.

The European War and Neutral Trade. In 1804 Napoleon became emperor, and in 1805 there came into the field against him the third coalition, headed by Great Britain, which issued the following year the first of the famous orders in council designed to put France in a state of blockade; this was followed by the Berlin decree, which not only declared a paper blockade of Great Britain, but established against that country the "Continental system"; other orders in council and decrees followed in quick succession, each striking at neutral trade with the enemy, with the result that in this cross-fire the great and lucrative carrying trade of America, developed in the course of the European War, was menaced with destruction through wholesale seizures and prize-court decisions. In addition to this, British ships-of-war for years had been engaged in certain activities for the protection of British interests, which especially irritated the American people.

Impressment of Seamen. One of the grave problems confronting Great Britain in this long-drawn-out struggle with France was the maintenance of her navy, which was then, as it is to-day, the backbone of her national defence as well as a powerful weapon in offensive warfare. In providing for this she exercised the ancient right of pressing into the navy those of her nationals trained to a seafaring life. It happened, however, that numerous British sailors had been attracted to American shipping by reason of the high wages and generally favourable conditions of service. Under ordinary circumstances this would have led to no friction, but under the pressure of war Great Britain felt that she had a right to the services of every one of her seamen. At this period, and until as recently as 1870, her courts had consistently held to the common-law doctrine that a subject might not legally renounce his allegiance—*nemo potest exuere patriam*—which meant that once a British sailor always a British sailor. But the United States had

granted to numerous British subjects, under the law of 1790 and later laws, American naturalization; this Great Britain refused to recognize, and in her determination to assert her municipal law of allegiance, did not hesitate to visit and search American vessels for deserters and other nationals, who were promptly carried away when found. Hundreds were taken away in this manner. While the right of visit and search had long been established regarding merchant vessels, it was not so with respect to ships of war. Therefore, when the commander of the *Leopard* on June 22, 1807, fired upon the American frigate *Chesapeake*, after following her out of American territorial waters, and forced her commander, who was unprepared for the emergency, to hand over four men who were claimed as deserters, the already excited American public was ready for war. But Jefferson's political philosophy was based upon the idea that it was not necessary for a nation so situated as the United States to go to war to vindicate its rights as against another civilized power, although he had not scrupled to send warships against the Tripoli pirates in 1801; he thought that there were other weapons just as effective, and he therefore limited himself to ordering all armed British vessels from the waters of the United States, at the same time requesting the British government to pay an indemnity. At a special session of congress, he now recommended the establishment of an absolute embargo on all shipping from American ports; for he was convinced that, by means of economic pressure, both England and France could be brought to make every desired concession. Again the president found that theory and fact did not fit; commercial New England was out of sympathy with the whole procedure, and would not submit to a proper enforcement of the Act; to coerce her meant civil war, and in 1809 congress wisely repealed the embargo. Soon after this, having finished his second term, Jefferson retired from office.

Demand for War and Expansion. During the next three years the country drifted, apparently helpless to assert itself against either of the powerful belligerents; for the new president, James Madison, another Republican, was a timid, kindly disposed little man, who was almost as much opposed to war as Jefferson. Although Napoleon, by reason of the Bayonne and Rambouillet decrees, became the chief offender against American rights, the country was dominated by the sentiment of the Republican party, which, from the beginning, was anti-British and pro-French; at the same time, the settlers beyond the Appalachians had become ardent expansionists; the Louisiana purchase did not satisfy them, they also looked in the eventuality of war to the conquest of Canada. In spite of the attitude of the president, the demand became ever more insistent that the national honour should be vindicated; when this was now joined to an expansionist programme, the Republican "War Hawks" in congress were able to put such pressure upon Madison that he was constrained to ask that body to agree to a declaration of war against Great Britain. Before the news of this had reached London, the ministry had revoked the orders in council that had given such offence to America; but this came too late to avert hostilities.

The War of 1812. Jefferson had gone upon the theory that armaments of war were not only a useless but a bad thing for a nation to possess; he neglected not only the army but also the navy, contenting himself — except in connection with the Tripolitan War—with the building of a "mosquito fleet" of tiny coast-patrol gun-boats; Madison had followed in the footsteps of the illustrious pacifist. When the nation found itself at war, it was absolutely unprepared. An attempt to invade Canada by way of the north-west ended in disaster; other attempts along the Niagara and the St. Lawrence proved equally futile, although in 1813 Captain Perry won a striking naval victory over the

British on Lake Erie. In 1814 Sir George Prevost invaded the United States by way of Lake Champlain, but was checked by Captain McDonough, who won a naval engagement on this lake as decisive as that secured by Perry. However, an expeditionary force sent against the national capital, under General Ross, easily scattered the American forces at Bladensburg, entered Washington, and, as an act of reprisal for the burning of York in Canada, destroyed the Capitol and the other public buildings; but, in an attempt to capture Baltimore, Ross was killed and his troops driven back. A reverse was suffered by the British in an attempt to secure control of the Mississippi. A force of ten thousand was disastrously defeated by Andrew Jackson and his western sharpshooters at New Orleans, and General Packingham, in charge of the expedition, was killed. Neither side, in fact, developed sufficient power to act successfully on the offensive against the other.

The Naval War. While the war on land was going on in this desultory fashion, a series of naval encounters were taking place on the high seas. The Americans showed that they, as well as their British cousins, had inherited all of the hard-fighting traditions of the days of the Armada, and in the early part of the war won many of the encounters between single ships, owing largely to their heavier broadside fire. Gradually, however, American ships were driven from the seas, and a rigid blockade of the leading American seaports was maintained. After two years of war, both sides had become anxious for peace. In fact, it may be said that Great Britain's heart had not been in this war; for years her energies had been concentrated upon the task of overthrowing the Napoleonic organization of Europe; when that was done she longed for peace. The war had been popular at the beginning in the United States in the south and the west, which were Republican strongholds; but in New England, where the Federalists were entrenched,

especially in the commercial centres, it was extremely unpopular, and leaders in that section, even before the outbreak of hostilities, favoured the withdrawal of New England from the Union. In the face of extraordinary incompetence and manifest futility, the Republican war spirit declined, and the country hailed with joy the evasive treaty of Ghent that was signed December 24, 1814.

V.—FROM THE TREATY OF GHENT TO THE TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO.

The "Middle Period" in American History. The period of forty-five years between the conclusion of the war of 1812 and the outbreak of the Civil War is signalized by the transformation of the great Mississippi Valley from a wilderness, except along its fringes, into the habitat of a population that actually outnumbered by 1860 the millions living east of the Appalachians, and that controlled the political destinies of the nation. This period is also signalized by the extension of the national boundaries to the Pacific Ocean; by sharp clashes between those who enjoyed political privileges and those who did not, between nationalistic and state sovereignty, and between the forces that upheld the institution of slavery and those which sought to destroy it.

Transformation of the Republican Party. From 1815 to 1829 the Republican party remained in power under the guidance of Presidents Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams, but it was a transformed party, which had gradually come to accept the teachings of Hamilton regarding such matters as pertained to national defence, finance, and economic protection. During this period it may be said that only one political party existed, but it was divided into factions. The conclusion of the war saw an interesting change in what might be called the American consciousness; men ceased to think as they had for years in terms of

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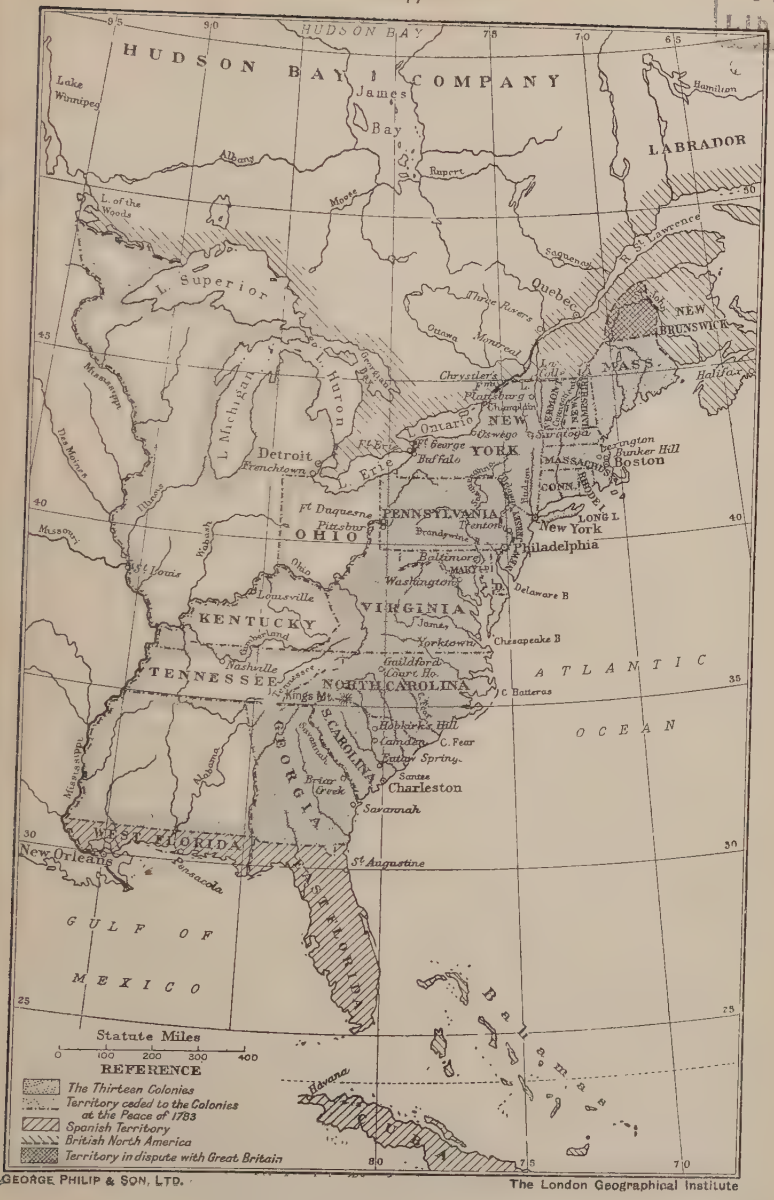

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EASTERN NORTH AMERICA IN 1812.

European politics; they no longer looked with the same eagerness across the Atlantic to find inspiration in the past, for they now became filled with ideas of national greatness and national detachment from the affairs of the Old World, and looked toward the west and dreamed of the future. On December 2, 1823, President Monroe sent to congress a message which epitomized the new spirit of America. "In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves," he declared, "we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so"; but, on the other hand, he desired it to be understood "that the American continents, by the free and independent position which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power"; and that any attempt to spread the old-world systems of government in the Americas would not be considered "in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." The declaration, supported by the friendly attitude of George Canning, British secretary of state for foreign affairs, came as a reply to those members of the Quadruple Alliance which favoured extending aid to Spain to recover her lost colonies that had revolted against the Napoleonic system established in Spain, and then against the restored king, Ferdinand.

National Protection of Industry. The determination of the United States to stand aloof in a self-sufficing manner was also shown by the passage of a series of Tariff Acts, beginning with that of 1816, which were primarily framed with the idea of affording to American industry adequate protection against outside competition. For during the late war there had come into existence to supply pressing needs innumerable weak manufacturing establishments which could be preserved only by preventing the "dumping" of European manufactures on American shores.

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The Settling of the Misssisippi Valley. It is not surprising that Americans became absorbed in the weaving of their own national destiny: a great and fertile continent stretched before them, much of which was destined to be their own to exploit. Before the war of 1812 there had been a steady movement into the west, but after 1815 a veritable flood of home-seekers in large, covered waggons, on horseback, and even on foot moved toward the new country along the main highways from the east, such as the famous Cumberland Road. The federal government, repudiating its earlier restrictive policies, which had worked against the poor man, sold to these land-hungry people tracts of suitable size at very easy terms—before 1820 the price was $2.00 per acre, after that date $1.25—and it is literally true that almost anyone who cared for a farm might secure one. The western lands long remained the refuge of the discontented from the east, and have been called "the national safety-valve." Generally speaking, the streams of settlers moving into the country north of the Ohio River—from Atlantic seaboard states which had freed their blacks from bondage—were not desirous of identifying themselves with the social and economic régime of slavery; in fact, that institution was excluded from the old north-west by the ordinance of 1787. Those, however, who moved into the country south of the Ohio came, as a rule, from slaveholding states and they carried with them their families of blacks. Thus, logically enough, the new states formed north of the Ohio forbade slavery, and those that came into existence south of that river protected it.

Slavery and the Growth of Sectionalism. While property in slaves had become less and less important in the north before it was finally abolished by state action as a result of the social idealism developed during the war for independence, it had, on the other hand, in the eyes of southern people become absolutely essential, especially after

the invention in 1793 of the cotton-gin; for this invention made the raising of cotton for the markets of the world extraordinarily profitable to the planter possessing plenty of cheap help and an abundance of fertile land—and ideal cotton land in abundance had been secured as a result of war against the Creek Indians in 1814. Therefore, while the settlers of the north-west turned to raising grain, cattle, and hogs, those who entered the region sloping toward the Gulf of Mexico limited themselves almost entirely to the raising of cotton, which gradually became during this period the great national export staple. It is not surprising that the planters of the south came to have a set of interests very different from those of the farmers of the north-west or the New England manufacturers, and that there developed in the nation a feeling of sectionalism that fought against solidarity and union. While both the north and the south were divided into "sectional zones" along economic lines, upon the issue of slavery, there gradually came to be a solid south arrayed against the growing sentiment of the north that slavery must not be allowed to expand, lest the slaveholders secure permanent control of the government and run it to suit their desires. In 1820 an issue involving this question arose when the territory of Missouri, lying west of the Mississippi, asked for admission into the union as a slave state. After a long and bitter struggle in congress and the development of a deadlock, the famous "Missouri compromise" was adopted which, while allowing Missouri statehood with slavery, prohibited for ever that institution in any of the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase lying north of 36° 30′, the southern boundary of Missouri.

The Supreme Court and Nationalism. Significant as was the growth of sectionalism, supported by state sovereignty conceptions in most instances, it should be noted that a powerful force was opposed to these tendencies,

and was striking some mighty blows in the name of nationalism. For, under the guidance of America's great chief justice, John Marshall, the United States Supreme Court at this time was handing down a series of remarkable decisions, every one of which tended to strengthen the authority of the central government, and to make this court the supreme arbiter in all questions involving the constitutional validity of both state and federal laws. Marshall was supported in his nationalism by the most powerful orator America possessed in this period, Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.

The Election of Jackson. In 1829 the trans-Appalachian west took the leadership in national affairs by the election to the presidency of the fiery Tennessee warrior, General Andrew Jackson, hero of the battle of New Orleans. He came into office as "the people's" president, with a hatred of the political combinations which had kept conservative eastern men in power against the popular will. He drove from public life hundreds of faithful, competent office-holders, to the slogans "Let the people rule!" and "To the victors belong the spoils of the enemy"; he made war on the great federal bank, known as the Second United States Bank, and put it out of existence on charges of corruption and partisanship, thereby laying the foundations for the terrible financial panic of 1837 precipitated by the "Jackson wild-cat" state banks. In 1833 he was also called upon to deal with an issue which for a time seemed to threaten the existence of the Union. For South Carolina —at the instigation of John C. Calhoun, who was elected vice-president in 1829 and who was by 1833 a political rival of Jackson—passed the "Ordinance of Nullification" which declared that the congressional Tariff Acts of 1828 and 1832, which had especially protected eastern and north-western interests, were unconstitutional, and should not be enforced within the state limits. State sovereignty had

at last thrown down a clear challenge to nationalism. Jackson accepted it and in a proclamation denounced the Calhoun theory that a state could suspend a federal law, and warned South Carolina that he was prepared to use force against her. South Carolina had thought that other southern states would follow her lead; but although they refused to do so, they were, nevertheless, bitterly opposed to the protectionist policy of the government. As a result South Carolina was not anxious to press the issue, and was satisfied when a compromise was effected by Congress which, while authorizing the president to use the necessary means to uphold the national laws as against state action, provided that the obnoxious tariff should gradually be lowered to a 20 per cent. basis. The Nullification Ordinance was thereupon repealed.

The Birth of the Democratic Party. The Jackson wing of the old Republican party accepted about this time the name Democratic Republican or Democratic, and the opponents of Jackson, led by another western man, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, adopted the name National Republican, later changed to Whig. The latter stood for the development of such institutions and enterprises as a national bank, a national university, national roads and canals, and the "American system," which meant making the United States self-sufficient in all ways by developing industries through protective tariffs; the former at first was a party of the opposition, expressing western ideals, and against government for the benefit of vested eastern interests; later it became the organ of the annexationists, and then fell under the control of the pro-slavery element previous to the outbreak of the Civil War. Unlike the Whig party, which went to pieces in the fifties, the Democratic party survives, although now purged of its earlier policies, as one of the two great national parties.

American Expansion. It might have been thought that

the United States would be satisfied with the acquisition of Louisiana territory from France, which resulted in more than doubling the original area of the nation; but this was not so. Before the war of 1812, the pressure of the American settlers along the west Florida border was manifest in various ways; in 1810, Madison revived claims against this territory put forward in 1803, as the result of the French cession, and in a proclamation declared it a part of the domain of the nation; in spite of the Spanish protests, a portion was thereupon occupied, and in 1813 the rest was seized. In 1818, General Jackson, acting upon rather vague orders, invaded East Florida in connection with the Seminole Indian war. In truth, the cause for this American interference in the Floridas was largely the turbulent conditions across the border, for Spain had been doing little either to develop or police that region. In 1819, as the result of an exchange of sharp diplomatic notes, Spain was persuaded to cede to the United States her rights to these lands, under consideration that the latter give up all claim to the Texas country that lay south-west of the Louisiana Purchase. However, hardly had Spain concluded this cession treaty than Mexico revolted and established herself as an independent confederated government, with Texas as one of the confederated states. It happened that Texas was largely unoccupied, although possessed of wonderfully fertile lands, and was much more accessible to the American frontiersmen than to those living in the settled part of Mexico owing to the Rio Grande, a river of great breadth; consequently, hardly had the United States renounced its claims to Texas than Americans in large numbers, welcomed by Mexico, streamed into this country. So rapidly was Texas becoming an American colony that Mexico reconsidered her position and began placing restrictions upon the newcomers. When the United States government became aware of the situation, it sought to persuade the new republic to sell Texas. Quite

naturally Mexico refused to bargain, and, as the result of encouragement on the part of Great Britain, undertook the abolition of slavery. While this move threatened with ruin the American settlers, it scarcely affected the Mexicans; the former, therefore, ignored what they felt to be a hostile thrust at them; the Mexican authorities, after resorting to still other means to discourage further American immigration, secured a law flatly forbidding it. This law was also ignored, and by 1836 Americans were settled in Texas in sufficient numbers to take affairs into their own hands; thereupon they proceeded to declare Texas independent of Mexico, and under the leadership of the picturesque Sam Houston succeeded in driving the Mexican army across the Rio Grande after the battle of San Jacinto in April of that year.

The United States and the Texas Issue. Although the successful Texans immediately set up an independent republic, it was not long before they applied for admission into the American Union. This request, however, met with a storm of protest from the anti-slavery North, many of the leading men there even threatening a secession of Northern states if Texas were incorporated; and for years the annexationists were checked by this determined opposition. But in 1844 the Democratic party won the elections on an expansionist platform with the anomalous cry, "The Reannexation of Texas and the Reoccupation of Oregon," with the result that Texas was accepted as a state within the Union the following year.

The War with Mexico. Now the Mexican government had never acknowledged the independence of Texas, although unable to bring that state into submission, and considered its incorporation by the United States an unfriendly act. What added to Mexican resentment was that Texas had included within her boundaries a large stretch of territory that the former insisted had never been any part of the

seceding state. The United States government, now under another western man, the ardent expansionist, James K. Polk of Tennessee, not only took steps to uphold the Texas claims, but also, in the eyes of Mexicans, added insult to injury by attempting to buy from Mexico the California country that skirted the Pacific south of the Oregon country, which the president was fearful was about to fall into the hands of Great Britain. Under these conditions kindly relations could not exist between the two countries, especially since the Mexican government had persistently refused to settle certain claims against it in favour of American citizens. On April 26, 1846, Mexican and United States troops clashed north of the Rio Grande; this led to a declaration on the part of President Polk that a state of war existed. General Zachary Taylor, in two engagements early in May, drove the Mexicans across the river, and followed this up by moving into the interior of Mexico, where in February, 1847, he won a decisive victory over superior forces under President Santa Anna at Buena Vista. In March of that same year another army under General Winfield Scott landed at Vera Cruz, and, after capturing that place, marched upon the city of Mexico in the face of desperate resistance at several strategic points; in September the capital was surrendered. Immediately the extreme annexationists, both within the president's cabinet and without, began demanding the absorption of the entire Mexican state. Polk wisely opposed this, although in the treaty of 1848 it was provided that Mexico should not only accept the enlarged Texas boundaries, but sell to the United States the provinces of New Mexico and Upper California.

VI.—FROM THE TREATY OF 1848 TO THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR

The Oregon Question. Not only were the aspirations of those westward expansionists realized regarding Texas and California, but also largely with respect to the coveted Oregon country of the Pacific north-west. Both Great Britain and the United States had laid claim to it on the basis of rights through discovery, exploration, and settlement. In 1818 a convention was entered into for the temporary joint occupation of this region. The Hudson Bay Company scattered its trading posts along the rivers, while many American settlers gradually moved into the valley of the Columbia; by the forties the possession of Oregon had become a vital issue. Both American and British expansionists demanded that in the final settlement the whole of Oregon should be allotted to their respective governments; in the United States the Democratic party shibboleth in the elections of 1844 had been "Fifty-four Forty (54° 40′) or Fight!" Although President Polk was pledged to support this claim, he was brought to ratify a sensible treaty which extended to the coast the boundary-line of 49° between Canada and the United States established east of the Rocky Mountains. Had Great Britain secured Oregon and California, or had the United States prevented the expansion of Canada to the Pacific, the results in either case would hardly have been such as to promote Anglo-American friendship or an acceptance of either arrangement as a permanent settlement of boundaries.

Although the anti-slavery group in the North had made no effort to dissolve the Union when Texas was incorporated in 1845, as many of its leaders, led by the aged but resolute ex-President John Quincy Adams, had threatened in 1843, there was nevertheless displayed in that section a fixed

determination that the newly acquired lands should not be given over to the institution of slavery, and conditions and circumstances favoured their desires. Oregon was too far north to be well suited to a slave régime, and the settlers were opposed to it; California was much more favourably situated, but in 1849 the great gold discovery upset the calculations of Southern statesmen; for immediately California became the Mecca of thousands of adventurous spirits who made the "rush" over the plains and mountains; these unbridled individualists scorned the idea of working side by side with slaves, and in 1850 drew up a constitution for a "free" California. It was now the turn of the Southerners of Alabama, led by Yancey, to threaten to break up the Union unless a portion of the far-western acquisitions should be set aside for the slaveholders; in this connection it was demanded that the Missouri compromise line of 36° 30′ should be extended beyond the Louisiana Purchase to the Pacific, thus legalizing slavery south of that line. In the end this sectional crisis was ended as other earlier ones by means of a compromise, agreed to in 1850 as the result of the efforts of Henry Clay, who more than once helped to smooth over sectional differences, thereby winning the title of the Great Compromiser. According to the compromise bills agreed to, California became a state under its constitution; the rest of the Mexican cession was by implication to be allowed to organize itself with or without slavery; as a special concession to Southern interests, a drastic fugitive slave law was provided that would facilitate the recovery of blacks who had fled to the Northern states; finally, as a special concession to Northern sentiment, the slave-trade in the district of Columbia was abolished.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the Rising Tide of Sectionalism. Many men now thought that the great issue between the North and the South was permanently settled, but unfortunately this was not so. The fugitive

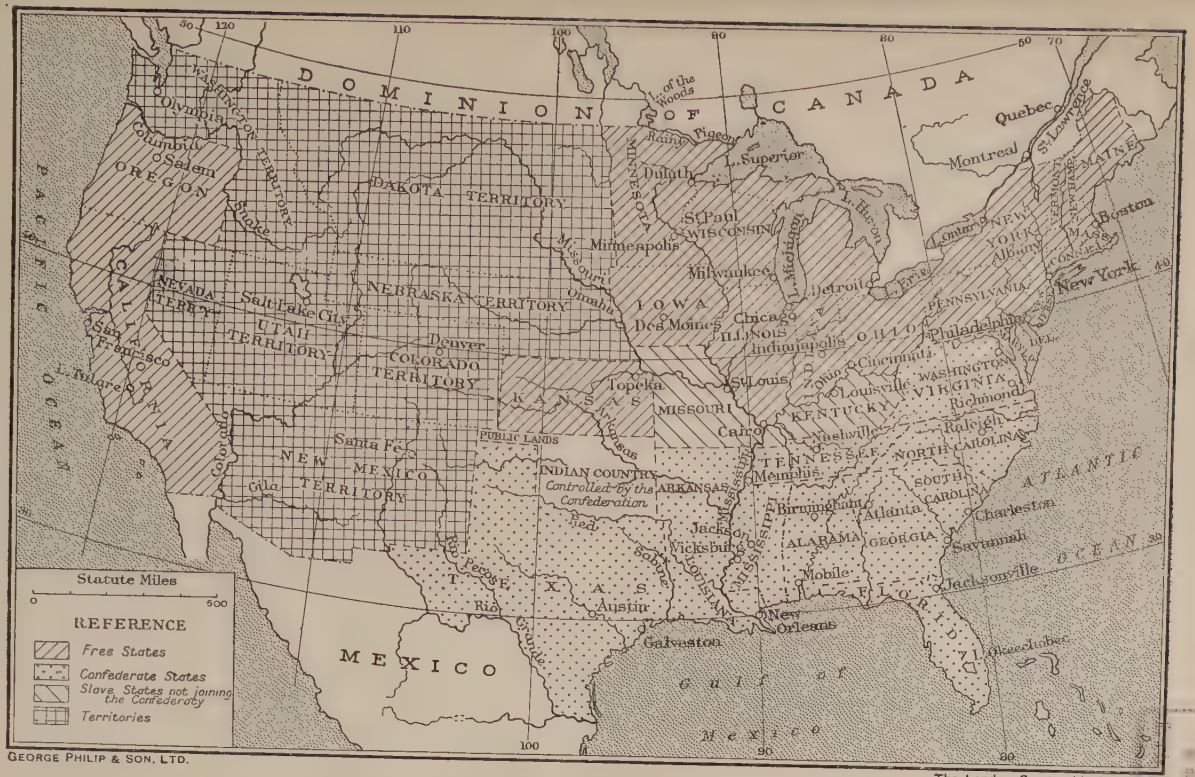
slave law created endless friction, for Northern mobs, made up often of most respectable citizens, rescued runaway blacks who had been captured while hiding in Northern cities; the South bitterly resented this, and it was not long before the struggle between these sections was renewed with increased intensity of feeling. When the compromise of 1850 was agreed upon, the Whigs were in power, but the Democrats turned them out in 1853, and in the year following, to the amazement of the anti-slavery forces, passed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill—at the behest of Senator Douglas of Illinois and Senator Atchinson of Missouri, supported by Southern spokesmen—which repealed the Missouri compromise in providing for the organization of two territories north of 36° 30′, in the unsettled portion of the Mississippi Valley, upon the basis that those who came to live there should decide whether or not they wanted slavery in these territories. This seemed to be a great victory for the pro-slavery interests, although Douglas was working primarily for the rapid development of the trans-Mississippi north-west and was not the advocate of those interests. Immediately Kansas Territory across the border from Missouri became the scene of a dramatic contest characterized by violence and bloodshed. While this contest was going on, the United States Supreme Court came to the aid of the pro-slavery element by handing down the famous Dred Scott decision in 1857, which denied to congress the power under the Constitution to prohibit slavery in any part of the national domain. It seemed that the government was under the control of the slaveholders. Therefore John Brown, a fanatical abolitionist, determined that the time had come to settle the slavery question by freeing the blacks through force. With a handful of desperate men he seized the national arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, and attempted to rouse the slaves of that locality; there was bloodshed, but Brown was captured and after a trial was

executed for murder. Many Northern men of prominence, such as the idealist Emerson, displayed great sympathy for Brown, and the South, thoroughly aware of the growing abolitionist sentiment and alarmed at the possibilities of a great servile uprising through Northern instigation, came to the firm determination never to submit to a national administration not under the control of Southern men. This was to be the price for preserving the Union.

The New Republican Party. The Whig party, which had come into power but twice—under William Henry Harrison in 1841 and under Zachary Taylor in 1849, both western men and popular war heroes who died in office—had never possessed the cohesion found in the Democratic party and had gone to pieces over the slavery issue in the fifties; in its place there appeared a new organization, the Republican party, pledged to work against a further extension of slavery in United States territory. This party in 1860 nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois for the presidency. Lincoln was born in poverty and always remained the sympathetic friend of the common people; he was a kindly philosopher, possessed of strength of character and common sense, and had shown great intellectual reach in a series of debates with Senator Douglas in 1858 over the latter's theory of popular or "squatter" sovereignty as applied in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Largely owing to a split in the Democratic party, the Southern end of which refused to follow Douglas and the majority, Lincoln was elected in spite of the solemn warning by Southern leaders that a "black Republican" victory would mean the dissolution of the Union. At last, after so many threats on the part of both North and South, secession was put to the test. Headed by South Carolina, one after another of the Southern states proceeded to pass ordinances of secession; the only slave states that did not follow were Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri—all border states. The seceding

states thereupon adopted a constitution binding themselves together under the name of the Confederate States of America, and selected Jefferson Davis of Mississippi as president. In many respects it seemed a happy solution of this bitter sectional tension, and many Northern people were quite satisfied to see the South go its way in peace; Buchanan, the retiring Democratic president, was unwilling to attempt coercion; but the president-elect refused to recognize the separation and after much deliberation determined that it was his constitutional duty "to save the Union."

Northern and Southern Culture. In surveying conditions previous to the outbreak of the Civil War, it may be said that although the institution of slavery gave America a leisured class of aristocrats, who long dominated the delightful social life at the national capital, and who furnished the army with the best of its military leaders, it was singularly unproductive in the larger constructive phases of American life, and made few important contributions even to the purely cultural side of the nation, in spite of this leisure that it gave to the favoured class. As against the Southern genius, Edgar Allan Poe, there appear the names of the novelist, Nathaniel Hawthorne; the essayists, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry D. Thoreau, and James Russell Lowell; the poets, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Walt Whitman, the last named just coming into fame, Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin"; and the historical writers Washington Irving, George Bancroft, Richard Hildreth, John L. Motley, and William H. Prescott, with the brilliant young Francis Parkman, just beginning his labours—all of Northern extraction. The contrast is due, probably, not so much to disparity in numbers or to the enervating effect of the climate, as to the fact that the slave régime tended to make men self-indulgent, proud, and materialistic, and therefore barren of the finer strains of



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U.S.A. IN 1861.

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idealistic impulse. Yet the South was not lacking in men of the highest character, and many of them believed as firmly in the Divine establishment of slavery as the followers of the Stuarts believed in the Divine establishment of the monarchy.

Northern and Southern Resources. While the Southern Confederacy embraced a population of over 9,000,000, including 3,500,000 blacks, practically all were identified with agricultural pursuits; the North, on the other hand, with a population of over 22,000,000—annually augmented by hundreds of thousands of European immigrants—was the centre of production not only of food-supplies for the nation but of various kinds of manufactures for peace and war purposes, and its commercial and financial interests controlled the merchant marine of the country.

The Civil War. For months there was quiet; many said there would be no war; but in April, 1861, hostilities began with the bombardment of Fort Sumter in Charleston harbour by the Confederates. Gradually great armies were raised by each side. The South at first committed itself to a defensive war, and the early attempts to invade the Confederacy by way of Virginia were repulsed; in fact, in the beginning the North had no such group of generals as the South possessed in the persons of Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, Albert Sidney Johnston, and "Stonewall" Jackson, and for three years had to search for the man who could be trusted to bring the war to a finish. That man was Ulysses S. Grant. He had first been given a command on the Mississippi, where, in spite of terrific resistance and checks such as those at Shiloh and at Corinth, he pushed his way through western Tennessee into western Mississippi, capturing, in 1862, Forts Henry and Donaldson on the Tennessee and the Cumberland Rivers, and in 1863 the fortress of Vicksburg on the Mississippi. This latter achievement, combined with other minor

operations and the capture of New Orleans in 1862 by Flag-officer Farragut, had the effect of isolating the Confederate states lying west of the Mississippi, and was a deadly blow to the Southern cause. But the Confederacy was far from conquered, and its armies in south-eastern Tennessee and in Virginia were threatening to turn the tide of war. However, in November, 1863, as the result of the battle of Chattanooga, Grant drove the Southern army of the west southward out of Tennessee and, putting W. T. Sherman in charge of the western campaign, hastened to Washington to take general charge of the Federal forces.

The Eastern Campaign. The strategy of the eastern field of operations was adapted at all times to meet the necessity of protecting the city of Washington from capture. This necessity led on more than one occasion to divided military counsels, and was partly responsible for the failure of General George B. McClellan's well-planned Peninsular campaign of 1862 against the Confederate capital established at Richmond, Virginia. In vain McDowell, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker, each in turn, had tried the "direct route" from Washington to Richmond and had hurled the northern legions against the enemy. Twice General Lee took the initiative and led his spirited and devoted army into the North. In 1862 he invaded Maryland, but was checked at Antietam, and retired. The following year, to the consternation of the Washington authorities, he moved into Pennsylvania, where, far north of the capital, at Gettysburg, there occurred the most decisive battle of the Civil War. Had Lee won a striking victory and then moved south upon Washington, it can scarcely be doubted that the North, war weary in spite of western successes, would have been led to accept the division of the republic and the establishment of the slave-holding Confederacy—but again he was checked, and again withdrew across the Potomac. This was the military situation when Grant took charge. In the spring of 1864

he invaded Virginia, and in a series of desperately fought flanking movements slowly pushed Lee back to the fortifications at Richmond, and there laid siege. Meanwhile, Sherman pressed the Confederate army of the west into the lower south, occupied Atlanta, the capital of Georgia, and then, destroying the railroads as he went, marched south-eastward to Savannah on the sea-coast, and then northward through South Carolina and up into North Carolina. The cause of secession and slavery was clearly lost. On April 9, 1865, Lee, cut off in an attempt to retreat from Richmond, surrendered; this was followed on the 26th by the surrender of Joseph E. Johnston, who was opposing Sherman. The Union was saved.

Reasons for the Southern Failure. In considering the reasons for the collapse of the South, it should be borne in mind that she was not engaged in manufacturing, that her ports were strictly blockaded by the North, and that, as a consequence, her railroads broke down for lack of repairs, and she was in other respects woefully hampered for lack of supplies of almost every kind; moreover, it was wellnigh impossible for many of the Southern leaders to co-operate for any length of time; each wanted to win the war according to his own notions, and many feuds broke out among these intense individualists, which lowered Southern morale; things came to such a pass that some of the states, such as North Carolina and Georgia, were in almost open rebellion against the Confederate government, and were threatening to secede from the Confederation. On the other hand, the longer the war continued the more decisive became the great preponderance of power possessed by the North, and this power was employed with ever-increasing efficiency. When Grant accepted Lee's surrender, he was in command of a splendidly equipped and disciplined fighting force; Lee's army had been decimated by fighting, disease, and desertion, and the remnant was in tatters, barefoot, and starving.

VII.—FROM THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR TO THE PRESENT

The Emancipation of the Slaves. In the latter part of 1862, President Lincoln issued a memorable proclamation in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the army. He declared that all slaves in those states or parts of states in rebellion should be free on January 1, 1863. This produced little immediate effect in the South, for the blacks were remarkably faithful to their masters throughout the war. When this showed signs of coming to a close, Lincoln busied himself with plans for restoring the Union upon the basis of his proclamation; but on April 15, 1865, he was assassinated by a partisan of the south. His death was a great calamity, for the people knew him and trusted him, and they did not know nor did they trust his successor, Vice-President Andrew Johnson, a Southern anti slavery Democrat, who had refused in 1861 to follow his state, Tennessee, out of the Union. Although Johnson had been the special object of hatred before and during the war by Southerners, and although he had favoured hanging the leaders of the rebellion, he now set to work to restore the South to the Union in a manner that seemed too lenient to Northern men of radical opinions, who for various motives, idealistic and otherwise, demanded that the negro be given full political rights while those who had participated in the rebellion should be kept from voting or holding office. Johnson, before the meeting of congress in December, 1865, carried out his policy of "reconstruction" along lines that have since been generally considered enlightened; but when Congress met it immediately took charge of affairs, ignored Johnson's work, and proceeded to subject the South to negro rule under military protection, after the States, recently in rebellion, had refused to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution which gives

the negro full rights of citizenship. When Johnson sought to shake off congressional domination, the House of Representatives, for the first time in its history, impeached the president; fortunately the impeachment failed in the senate.

The South and Negro Rule. The South, goaded to desperation in its woe, its desolation, and its indescribable humiliation, resorted to both open and secret terrorist means to control the negroes intoxicated with their freedom and their political power. For over a decade Northern troops remained in the south, but long before this the whites had regained the machinery of government in most of the states, in spite of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, designed to ensure to the blacks perfect civil and political equality. The war was tragic enough for the South, but the reconstruction period was a nightmare. Ever since then the Republican party has had to face the opposition of a "solid South."

Progress of the Black Race. While the attempt to raise the negro at a bound from slavery and grossest ignorance to a position of political superiority over his former master was doomed to inevitable failure, it may nevertheless be said that the black race since that time has been making most substantial progress in culture and general well-being. With emancipation the old plantation system disappeared; in place of it there was evolved the practice of dividing the great estates into small allotments, which were either rented or sold to the individual negro, who thus enjoyed the privilege of being his own "boss," of owning a mule, and of raising a bale or two of cotton to settle his own bills at the local store. Thousands of negroes moving to the cities have attained recognition in the professional fields of the Christian ministry, law, medicine, and in business; yet the vast majority cling to the agricultural life and are still rather primitive children of the soil in the great Black Belt of the South.

Industrialism since the Civil War. One of the decisive factors in the Civil War favouring the North was the extent of its industrial progress; unlike the South, it had great accumulations of capital for investment, and through the operation of the war tariff and through the incentive of the war profits, manufacturing along all lines developed by leaps and bounds. Naturally the interests that had been fostered by the war demanded at its termination adequate protection against foreign competition; this led to a revival of high tariff legislation and the gradual identification of the Republican party—the champion of the black man—with the interests of the capitalistic group, a transition that was strikingly manifest under President Grant, who succeeded President Johnson. At the opening of this new era, American industrial activities were carried on by numerous producers in each field; gradually under the stress of competition the weaker succumbed, the stronger grew stronger, and by a process of absorption and expansion due to growing demands there remained but a few great corporations in many of the most important lines of industrial activity. These at first battled with their rivals for supremacy—plunging the country, incidentally, into such crises as the panic of 1893—then came to a mutual understanding about prices and the market, and at last were fused into giant combinations or trusts; such was the Standard Oil Company, created by John D. Rockefeller; such was the United States Steel Corporation, welded together by Andrew Carnegie, with its capitalization of over a billion dollars.

The Trust and the Public. At first the American public ignored this process of consolidation in the industrial world, then it became amused and delighted over the writhings of ambitious competitors—especially in the face of "cut-throat" slashing of prices—then its pride was aroused when it became aware of the fact that the United States was the home of many of the greatest business corporations in

the world, but this shallow pride soon gave way to dismay when it found itself in the grasp of ruthless "monster octopuses." A period of war against the trusts then ensued; even the spokesman of the Republican party, President Theodore Roosevelt, was led to denounce fiercely "the malefactors of great wealth"; under him public prosecutions were instituted, and under his successor, President Taft, another Republican, the American Tobacco Company and the Standard Oil Company were "dissolved" by the courts. Gradually, however, it has come to be seen that this latter procedure is futile, if not undesirable, in face of actual conditions, and the conclusion has been reached that public interests can better be served by strict government regulation of private corporations.

The Rise of Organized Labour. With great combinations of capital and big business, came the class-consciousness of the workmen employed in these undertakings. While this existed to a degree before the Civil War, the inception of the modern labour union and the modern strike was concomitant with post-war national reconstruction and readjustment. The Knights of Labour, established in 1869, was the first labour organization of national scope, and the first great American strike occurred in 1877 among the railroad workers. Since then the power of organized labour has slowly but surely increased, and most of the organizations are identified with the American Federation of Labour, which for years has been under the guiding hand of Samuel Gompers; however, no distinct labour party exists in the United States, and the workers have no such political solidarity as is the case with the workers in England. From 1877 to the present time innumerable strikes have involved the country at large in great hardships. For years there was a tendency on the part of the government to deal severely with labour disorders; troops were employed and there was bloodshed. In later years it has exerted itself to bring about conciliation between

the contesting groups, as, for example, in 1902, when President Roosevelt by this means succeeded in terminating a coal strike that was paralyzing industry throughout the nation. However, it is not too much to say that the adjustment of the relations between capital and labour constitutes the greatest single problem now facing the United States.

Industrialism and the Disappearance of Sectionalism. The spread of industrialism throughout the country, together with the disappearance of isolation through the railroad systems, has had an important effect that should be noted. At first industrialism was centred in the North Atlantic section; before the Civil War it had crept as far west as Illinois and north-eastern Missouri; for long it halted at the Potomac and the Ohio, and yet, some decades after the war, it finally appeared in the south, and its centre in that section is now in the Birmingham coal and iron district in Alabama. The significance of this lies in the fact that the great homogeneous "solid South," after so many generations of adherence to political ideals based upon conceptions derived from a purely agricultural economy, at last found itself possessed of new and vastly important interests, the care of which meant the repudiation among certain Southern groups of the traditional hostility toward such national policies as the fostering of industry through protective tariffs. In other words, the spread of industrialism has helped to break up economic sectionalism within the Union and in its place has come national solidarity. This has been true not only of southern sectionalism, but of that of the west as well.

The Settlement of the Far West. Just as the most important political problems and crises in American life between the war of 1812 and the Civil War grew out of the settlement of the western national domain, so the same may be said regarding the period between the Civil War and the Spanish-American War. Indeed, one of the most

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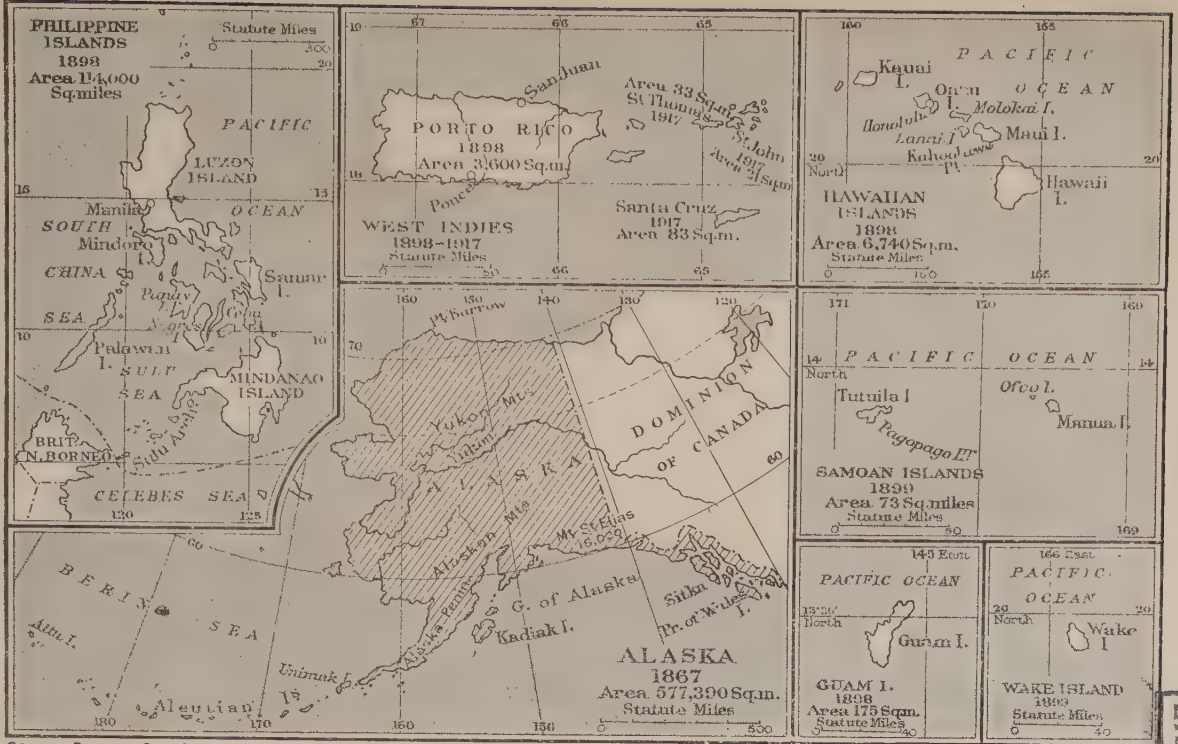

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171

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romantic phases in American history is the conquest of the great western plains and the Rocky Mountain region. The plains, literally swarming with buffalo that moved north and south in vast herds, were also the habitat of powerful Indian tribes, many of which, as the result of the numerous frontier wars and land secessions, had gradually been pushed into the trans-Mississippi region by the onward sweep of the adventurous pioneers, chiefly of Scotch-Irish extraction, whom neither treaties, nor Indian resistance, nor government restraints, could long hold back. To settle this vast semi-arid and arid west, it was necessary, among other things, to control the Indians, who were determined to yield no more to white pressure, to develop means of transportation, and to provide a supplement to the inadequate rainfall.

The Indian Problem. For dealing with the Indians a precedent had been established by President Andrew Jackson of placing certain tribes on reservations in the so-called Indian Territory which was created west of the Mississippi in 1834. This practice was followed with respect to the Indians of the plains and of the far west after they had been subdued as the result of a series of Indian wars. Although many of the tribes were taken to Indian Territory, the western part of the United States is still dotted with small reservations which are under the control of an Indian agent who cares for the interests of these wards of the nation ; schools have been established and much otherwise has been done to promote the civilization and the well-being of the red man. Some of the Indian nations, such as the Cherokees, have shown great capacity for assimilating the culture of the white race, have ceased to live in a tribal state, have accepted United States citizenship, and occasionally have held responsible posts in public life.

The Period of Transition. The early pioneer in penetrating the prairie had used the horse and the emigrant waggon. Here and there, at the fords of rivers and where overland trails

crossed or branched, settlements gradually appeared. After the passing of that splendid creature the American buffalo, pursued almost to extermination for his hide, the hunter gave way to the cowboy, free cattle-herding, the annual "round-up," and the "long drive" to the market; then came the period of the great enclosed cattle-ranch. Thus for decades the cattle-man was king of this region, but at last slowly gave way in the face of two competitive forces: the sheep-man and the agriculturist. The flocks of the sheep-man gradually spread over the foot-hills, displacing the cattle from this portion of their summer range; but this displacement occurred only after many a hard-fought battle and bloodshed between the "cow-punchers" and sheep-herders. The agriculturist just as gradually encroached upon the cattle region from the settled east, with the result that the ranches situated in the grass-country below the foot-hills began to disappear one after another to make room for the more profitable farm and orchard; that which gave a tremendous impetus to this latter transformation was the sharp increase in the value of western lands due to the building, in the sixties, seventies, and eighties, of the first trans-continental railroads.

The Development of Railroad Transportation. The first steam railroads were begun in America in 1827; by 1860 there was a perfect network of lines north of the Potomac and the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. The south was rather scantily provided with railroads in 1860, but in the trans-Mississippi region, by that date, a beginning had been made of pushing lines into the prairie country from such growing railroad centres as Chicago and St. Louis. For years men had talked of a railroad to connect California and Oregon with the east, but the vital importance of this was brought home only with the outbreak of the Civil War. In 1862 provision was made for the building of such a road—the Union Pacific, which was

completed in 1869—and this was followed by the construction of other such lines. As these railroads stretched over hundreds of miles where no settlements then existed, and scaled the passes of the mighty Rockies, financiers would not undertake these costly enterprises, in which immediate returns were uncertain, unless assisted by the government, which provided subsidies in the form of immense grants of unoccupied land lying on either side of the right-of-way, in addition to liberal financial loans in the shape of government bonds. The building of the land-grant railroads was accompanied with scandals in the field of "high finance"; also largely as the result of these enterprises the country was plunged into the panic of 1873, due to an over-expansion of financial credits and over-construction.

Western Hard Times. Along the railroads settlement followed with great rapidity; towns sprang up in the night, as it were, and the great wheat-belt of the United States came into existence. But the settlers were needy; most of them were in debt with very discouraging prospects; for not only did the railroads, which were also financially embarrassed, charge exorbitant rates for hauling the crops to the markets, but the price of wheat—by reason of the tremendous increase in production that took place as the result of putting into cultivation so much virgin land at the same time—fell from $2.85 in 1867 to 98 cents in 1878. Chronic hard times among the western agriculturists produced in the seventies the so-called Granger movement, in connection with which the state legislatures made war upon the railroads and demanded of the government higher prices or a "cheaper" money—with which to pay off their farm mortgages—in the form of "fiat" and irredeemable paper money. But for over thirty years the west waited in vain for the coming of prosperity. The Farmers' Alliance, succeeding the Granger movement, gave expression to the feeling of discontent. In the early nineties the small farmers

of the great plains, uniting with the small farmers of the south, who were also poor and dissatisfied, made a valiant effort to get control of the national government. Repudiating the Republican and Democratic organizations, they brought forth in 1892 the people's party, with a platform demanding the public ownership of monopolies, an income-tax, postal savings banks, and, as in the seventies, an expanded currency—this time in the form of the free coinage of silver as well as an increased paper-money. Although numerous labour organizations adhered to the new party, it failed in its more ambitious and immediate purpose, Its teachings, however, had a contagious influence, and after the panic of 1893 the rank and file of the Democratic party took them up. In the party convention of 1896, in spite of the fact that Grover Cleveland—who had been chosen president in 1892 as leader and spokesman for the Democrats and who was still in office—opposed most ardently the new principles, a platform was adopted the leading plank of which was "the free and unlimited coinage of silver"; and a brilliant young orator, William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, was nominated for the presidency. It seemed likely that the radical, debtor west would come into power, for the Populists, as members of the people's party were called, also nominated Bryan. However, the capitalistic and industrial interests of the east rallied almost solidly behind the Republican party and elected William McKinley. After 1896 western hard times gradually disappeared in the face of a steady rise of prices of farm-products, due, among other things, to the flood of gold from the goldfields of the world, to the drawing of people from agriculture into the industrial areas of the cities, to foreign immigration, which was assuming vast proportions and which called for increased food stocks, and to the increased value of farm lands. What is more, the government, under President Roosevelt, entered enthusiastically upon a policy not only

of the conservation of natural resources, but of the reclamation of the Great American Desert, which stretches for hundreds of miles over the lofty plateau-country between the Rockies and the Coast Range. All that most of this land required, beyond scientific agriculture, was water for irrigation, and already water for large areas has been supplied by the building of government reservoirs and artificial lakes, and by the digging of canals and ditches. Through this transformation the trans-Mississippi west, always strongly nationalistic at heart, has become prosperous and contented and has surrendered, as in the case of the south, a rather menacing type of sectional self-consciousness. It has, however, remained a great laboratory for political experimentation, and it is distinctly progressive, often radical, in its tendencies.

The Immigrant Problem. In the expansion of the American people from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific, the Anglo-Saxon culture has remained predominant, in spite of the fact that it is estimated that over 24 millions of immigrants have been received into the United States from states other than the United Kingdom from 1820 down to the present, as against some 8 millions that have come from the latter. To assimilate the vast number that remained permanently within the country has been no slight task; it is, in fact, one of the present pressing problems, for there exist numbers of "Little Italys," "Little Polands," "Little Russias," "Little Scandinavias," and "Little Germanys," in town and country. What is exerting the greatest leavening influence among these groups is that stronghold of American democracy, the free, non-denominational educational system, beginning with the primary schools and ending with state universities, where the children of different racial stocks are taught the English language, and where rich and poor of both sexes sit side by side and learn the same lessons in citizenship. These

schools are supplemented in this task by the efforts of hundreds of privately established institutions, which occasionally, however, foster a spirit of religious exclusiveness or aristocratic inclinations.

The Church in the United States. It might seem to the reader from what has previously been said that the energies of the American people have almost entirely been given to an improvement in material well-being, and that the more idealistic side of life has been neglected and remains uncultivated. This unfortunately is true with regard to large numbers in both the cities and the rural districts; Americans, however, as a group, are undoubtedly guided by a genuine and enlightened humanitarianism and by religious and ethical impulses, in spite of the fact that not more than two-fifths are officially identified with any church organization. Among the leading denominations—for there are hundreds of small sects in the United States—the Roman Catholic Church seems to be growing more rapidly than any other, due not only to the fact that children of Catholics are kept within the fold, but also to the character of the European immigration, especially since the middle of the last century. Its communicants now number over 15 millions, made up largely of those of Irish and of central and southern European extraction. The Protestant Episcopal Church, the American offshoot of the Anglican Establishment, has a strong following among people of culture and especially of English antecedents; the Presbyterian Church is even stronger numerically, and has an educated membership; the Unitarian Church, although numerically weak, has been a liberalizing force. But the denominations that appeal to the plain, simple-hearted, unattached American are such evangelical organizations as the Baptist and the Methodist Churches; these have been pre-eminently the Churches of the advancing frontier, together with the later Disciples of Christ.

American idealism has been productive of many unique religious establishments, such as the once-flourishing communistic, celibate Shakers; two of these establishments have had an influence beyond the United States, the Church of the Latter-Day Saints and the Church of Christ, Scientist. The Church of the Latter-Day Saints was founded by Joseph Smith of Manchester, New York, in 1830, who gave to the world *The Book of Mormon*, and who inducted his followers into polygamous and other materialistic practices and beliefs in connection with this cult. After remaining for a time in the middle west, most of the Mormons in 1847 migrated under their new leader, Brigham Young, to the desert about Great Salt Lake in Utah, which, through irrigation, they have brought under a high state of cultivation. As the result of active missionary effort large numbers of Britons and Scandinavians of an uneducated type joined the Mormon communities during the first forty years after their establishment. In order to secure the admission of Utah into the Union as a state, the Mormon Church repudiated polygamy in 1896. In sharp contrast to Mormonism stands the Church of Christ, Scientist, with its demand for a purely spiritual interpretation of life. This Church was established in 1876 by a remarkable woman, Mary Baker Eddy, of Lynn, Massachusetts, in order to reinstate the lost element of primitive Christian healing; and it has won its way among thoughtful people in the face not only of hostile legislation, but of unceasing attacks by the medical profession and the pulpit. There are now over 1,800 Christian Science churches and societies scattered throughout the English-speaking world and Continental Europe.

Foreign Relations since the Civil War. While it is true that the United States was primarily occupied from the Civil War to the Spanish-American War with internal interests, certain important questions involving foreign

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relations called for settlement during this period. Two of these came into existence during the Civil War, one involving the Monroe Doctrine and the other neutral conduct. Napoleon III., owing to the irresponsible type of government existing in the state of Mexico, in violation of the Monroe Doctrine, had made Prince Maximilian of Austria emperor of that country in 1862. At the close of the Civil War Maximilian was still on his shaky throne, supported by French bayonets. With its hands now free, the United States government sent a threatening protest to Napoleon and began to mobilize the Civil War veterans along the Mexican border. The French soldiers withdrew, but Maximilian, infatuated with the importance of his empty title, stayed behind, to be shot by revolutionaries. Having thus vindicated the Monroe Doctrine, the Washington authorities gave their attention to the other question, involving neutral conduct, which, however, was not settled until Grant became president in place of Johnson. Northern leaders had felt keenly during the war that the British government had secretly favoured the Confederacy and especially had not exercised due diligence as a neutral power in permitting agents of the Confederate government to arrange for the building in English shipyards of certain powerful commerce-destroyers, such as the *Alabama*, which subsequently preyed on American shipping. In 1869 Charles Sumner, chairman of the Senate committee on foreign affairs, in a famous speech demanded as reparation from Great Britain $2\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars, or, in lieu of this, Canada. After considerable negotiation, Mr. Gladstone, who was then prime minister, consented to arbitrate this matter as well as other questions that had arisen between the two countries. In 1872, in the famous Geneva award, while the arbitrators rejected the exorbitant American demands, they nevertheless called upon Great Britain to pay damages to the extent of the direct losses inflicted by Confederate "sea-wolves." The laudable

attitude shown by Great Britain in this connection laid the foundations for the spirit of friendship that has been gradually developing between the two countries since that period.

For the following twenty-three years there was nothing, excepting the ludicrous Sackville-West election incident of 1888, to ruffle the diplomatic calm between the United States and Great Britain. But in 1895 the old dispute regarding the proper boundary separating Venezuela and British Guiana developed into a serious international issue. The Cleveland administration had been led by reports to believe that an attempt was being made by British interests to appropriate Venezuelan territory, in the face of the Monroe Doctrine. Notes were exchanged upon the question, the president sent a determined message to Congress regarding the course that he would pursue, and, for a time, the situation was ominous, as excitement ran high; yet there was present "the irresistible weight of forces making for peace" between the two English-speaking peoples, and the matter was adjusted in such a way that the prestige of neither was lowered. Again arbitration was resorted to, and the award of 1899 was generally favourable to Great Britain's contentions.

The Enlargement of the Monroe Doctrine. In the correspondence with Great Britain regarding Venezuela, Secretary of State Olney had taken very advanced grounds as to the character of the guardianship which the United States enjoyed over the interests of the peoples of the western hemisphere. It may be considered that the Spanish-American War was brought on by the application of these principles. From 1868 to 1878 Cuba had been in revolt, but although the islanders were forced to submit they could not be reconciled to Spanish rule. In 1895 a fresh insurrection blazed up; the harsh measures employed by Spain proved unavailing except to excite American indignation. What added to the tensity of the situation was that in February, 1898, the

United States battleship *Maine* was destroyed as the result of an explosion in Havana harbour. Whether the explosion occurred by accident or design has never been settled. In April, by means of a joint resolution, Congress, on the recommendation of the president, called for United States intervention in Cuban affairs; this very naturally brought from Spain a declaration of war. By the very nature of things the contest was to be settled largely upon the basis of naval supremacy. The Spanish navy, on the one hand, was as ill-prepared for battle as, on the other hand, the United States navy was in almost every detail ready for the emergency. On May 1 Admiral Dewey's fleet steamed into Manila Bay, and in a most deliberate manner battered the Spanish squadron to pieces without the loss of a man; in June American forces landed in Cuba and attacked the Spanish troops near Santiago; on July 3 Admiral Cervera's fleet, in attempting to leave the harbour of that city, was destroyed by Admirals Sampson and Schley with an American loss of one man killed and two wounded. The land warfare was not so efficiently managed, but the surrender of Santiago, on July 17, practically ended hostilities. By the peace, signed the following December, Spain gave up all jurisdiction over Cuba and ceded to the United States Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, receiving 20 million dollars for the latter. The treaty signalized two things: that Spain had given up the last of the important possessions pertaining to her former vast overseas colonial empire; further, that the United States had stepped outside of western hemisphere affairs and had assumed the rôle of a world power with dependencies and subject-races to care for.

American Imperialism. In considering the growth of an imperialistic policy on the part of the United States government, it can now be appreciated that certain tendencies in that direction were exhibited long before the Civil War.

However, during this earlier period, all annexations were of lands both lying contiguous to the main body of the national domain and suitable for American settlement. The acquisition of Alaska in 1869 may possibly be considered the first definite point of departure; for, at the time of purchase, it was not held to be a fit abode for the white man. Yet the nation hesitated long before burdening itself with insular possessions. President Grant failed to get the senate ratification of treaties providing for the annexation of the Danish West India islands of St. Thomas and St. John's and of Santo Domingo, and in 1893 President Cleveland defeated the plans laid for taking over the Hawaiian Islands, although the latter were annexed in 1898, in the midst of the Spanish-American War, for "strategic" reasons. The public was thus prepared in a measure for the Spanish treaty acquisitions of 1898, yet the Democratic party, dominated by Mr. Bryan, denounced the imperialism of the Republican administration. But this did not prevent the adding, from that time on, of numerous small islands of the Pacific to the nation's possessions, and by 1917 the Democratic party had become so well satisfied with this policy that it made itself responsible for the purchase of the Danish West Indies. In addition to these annexations, the United States has established a protectorate over Cuba, and is responsible for the financial administration of Santo Domingo, Honduras, and Nicaragua. It also has assumed the guardianship of Panama, the youngest of the American nations, which came into existence in 1903, largely as the result of fear on the part of its people, then nationals of Colombia, that the Nicaragua canal route would be chosen in preference to their own after Columbia had refused to ratify the canal treaty with the United States; one may, however, with justice say that President Roosevelt recognized with unseemly haste the independence of the revolting state—and for obvious reasons. All this, together with the control exercised over the Panama

Canal, has given the American government a position of peculiar influence in the Gulf of Mexico and in the Caribbean Sea.

In considering the more recent phases of American internal and external policy, the masterful personality of Theodore Roosevelt stands out in bold relief; he was a thorough-going progressive who carried forward his programme by wielding "the big stick." When he retired from the presidency in 1909, he left behind him a record of large achievement; unfortunately he aroused unnecessary antagonism at home, and especially among the Spanish-American peoples. His successor, William H. Taft, a man of fine judicial temperament, did not succeed eminently well as a national leader in the face of the bitter hostility of the former president. But in 1913 Woodrow Wilson was placed in power by the Democratic party, and has shown masterly ability in dealing with the domestic and foreign problems of the nation; he has sought, among other things, to develop an American policy that would draw together in bonds of friendship all the nations of the western hemisphere, and thus allay suspicions on the part of the Spanish-American countries. The anarchic situation in Mexico has given him much concern, for he is very much opposed to the forcible intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of the neighbouring republics.

The United States and the Great War. When the Great War broke out in 1914, the United States was a nation of over 100,000,000 people, with almost unlimited national wealth, with a vast industrial system, with great interests and responsibilities in the western hemisphere, and in the enjoyment of peace and internal harmony. The war immediately brought a sharp division of sympathy among the people, largely owing to the fact that they are of such varied racial origin; for, by 1914, over a million immigrants a year were pouring into the country, chiefly from the

different belligerent nations. Moreover, for above a century, the United States had shown a unique devotion to the tradition of non-intervention in European affairs, in spite of the most ardent sympathy expressed by the people at times with the cause of such harassed races as the Poles, the Armenians, and the Greeks. Owing to these facts, it was not possible to bring a united nation into the struggle in 1914; but as the war progressed, and the true frightfulness, lawlessness, and menace of the acts of the Central Powers sank into the American consciousness, the general attitude favouring a strict neutrality slowly gave way, so that when President Wilson appeared before congress and asked for a declaration of war against Germany, there was a truly wonderful response. The United States, of course, entered the war too late to play so glorious a part as was played by the British Empire and by France and Belgium; nevertheless, it went in with its full force, prepared to sacrifice to the uttermost. Undoubtedly one of the most significant results to flow from this participation is the cementing of the friendship already existing between the different branches of the Anglo-Saxon race.

APPENDIX

A LIST OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, TOGETHER WITH DATA REGARDING THE LENGTH OF PERIOD IN OFFICE, POLITICAL CONNECTION, AND EARLY VOCATION IN LIFE.

1.	George Washington*	1789-1797	Federalist	Surveyor, later a planter.
2.	John Adams	1797-1801	Federalist	Educator, later a lawyer.
3.	Thomas Jefferson	1801-1809	Republican†	Lawyer.
4.	James Madison	1809-1817	Republican	Lawyer.
5.	James Monroe	1817-1825	Republican	Lawyer.
6.	John Quincy Adams	1825-1829	Republican	Lawyer.
7.	Andrew Jackson*	1829-1837	Democrat	Lawyer.
8.	Martin Van Buren	1837-1841	Democrat	Lawyer.
9.	William Henry Harrison*	1841‡	Whig	Farmer.
10.	John Tyler	1841-1845	Whig	Lawyer.
11.	James Knox Polk	1845-1849	Democrat	Lawyer.
12.	Zachary Taylor*	1849‡	Whig	Soldier.
13.	Millard Fillmore	1849-1853	Whig	Tailor, later a lawyer.
14.	Franklin Pierce	1853-1857	Democrat	Lawyer.
15.	James Buchanan	1857-1861	Democrat	Lawyer.
16.	Abraham Lincoln	1861-1865‡	Republican	Farm hand, later a lawyer.
17.	Andrew Johnson	1865-1669	Union Republican	Tailor.
18.	Ulysses Simpson Grant*	1869-1877	Republican	Soldier.
19.	Rutherford Birchard Hayes	1877-1881	Republican	Lawyer.
20.	James Abram Garfield	1881‡	Republican	Educator, later a lawyer.
21.	Chester Alan Arthur	1881-1885	Republican	Educator, later a lawyer.
22.	Grover Cleveland	1885-1889	Democrat	Educator, later a lawyer.
23.	Benjamin Harrison	1889-1893	Republican	Lawyer.
24.	Grover Cleveland	1893-1897	Democrat	Educator, later a lawyer.
25.	William McKinley	1897-1901‡	Republican	Lawyer.
26.	Theodore Roosevelt*	1901-1909	Republican	Public official.
27.	William Howard Taft	1909-1913	Republican	Lawyer.
28.	Woodrow Wilson	1913-	Democrat	Educator.

* These men were placed into office largely upon the strength of their military records. However, several of the other Presidents had seen service, and in the cases especially of Hayes, Garfield, Benjamin Harrison, and McKinley, this fact had its weight in the elections.

† The earlier Republican party should be distinguished from the later and present party with that name.

‡ Died in office, and therefore term of office was not completed. With regard to Lincoln and McKinley, they had each been elected for a second term.

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INDIA

(SINCE 1713)

I.—THE POSITION EARLY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

England and the European Powers. The Treaty of Utrecht established the supremacy of England in Europe. It also gave a great impetus to England's sea power, and to her expansion in trade and colonization, in the East and in the West. France was weakened, and for the time being exhausted. She hardly made a serious bid for power in India against the English till the outbreak of the Anglo-French War of 1744 and the decisive struggle of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). Portugal had long become inert since her union with Spain in 1580, and her emancipation in 1640 led her more and more in the direction of perpetual peace and alliance with England (1642). The Dutch competition was still serious, although the energies of the Dutch were now mainly directed to the development of the islands farther East, and the bond of William III.'s personality had accustomed England and Holland to act together in international relations.

Internal Growth in the British Isles. But we should miss the significance and working of the deeper causes of England's expansion if we failed to bring it into relation with the internal position in the United Kingdom. The tariff wars between England and Scotland were ended by

the union with Scotland in 1707. The dynastic danger of a Stuart restoration was also localized by the international recognition of the Hanoverian succession in the Peace of Utrecht (1713). The anarchy in Ireland had been ended by the battle of the Boyne (1690). The British Isles had become a political unit. The "Glorious Revolution" and Marlborough's military victories on the Continent had widened England's outlook and enlarged her horizon.

Growth of Ideas. Side by side with these external marks of consolidation there was a remarkable growth of ideas. England had experimented with many forms of political power and passed through the most varied experiences of political fortune. She had been wellnigh exhausted in the Wars of the Roses. The Tudor monarchy and the Reformation had led her through many phases of polity, autocratic as well as progressive, in Church and State. The Puritan movement had shattered the "divine right" of kings, but it had also shown her the disadvantages of a military dictatorship and the weakness of the republican sentiment in England. The Restoration brought back the Monarchy, but to a wholly different England. The religious persecutions under the Stuarts and in the Commonwealth had produced the *Mayflower* emigration and spread broadcast the germs of that independence of thought and action which flowered later in the British and other communities that owed their ideas of law and liberty to England. The Revolution of 1688, the reign of Queen Anne, and the Hanoverian succession had brought the great landed estate to the helm of affairs in supersession both of absolute monarchy and of ecclesiasticism; while the commercial and trade interests were gradually asserting their importance, as evidenced by the foundation of the Bank of England (1694) and the prominence which the affairs of the East India Company and its rivals assumed in Parliament and in the Press in the years 1694-1708.

Influence of English Ideas in India. This building up of the nation at home, and the ideas of liberty and good government that resulted therefrom, made their influence felt in India. Bombay was acquired from the Portuguese in 1661. Within two years we have documentary evidence to show how the inhabitants of Bombay contrasted British ideas with those of the Portuguese. A remarkable petition of 225 inhabitants of Bombay, preserved in the Colonial Office records, complains of the Portuguese, "whose manner of government was absolute, and bringing the inferior sort of us so much under, and made so small account of them, as comparatively well we may say the elephant doth the ant." The East India Company's charters from the beginning had given the Company power to make ordinances "not repugnant to English law," for the good government of the Company and its affairs. The changes in English ideas reacted naturally on the Company's ordinances in India. The practice of consultation with the people, especially in the matter of taxation, is well reflected in the land revenue settlement of Bombay, known as Aungier's Convention, 1672. The landholders and 120 of the "eminents of the povo" (=people) were called into council, and a well-thought-out system of taxation was devised with what we may call the consent of the people.

Two Rival East India Companies, 1698-1708. The attack which was made in Parliament on the monopoly of the East India Company in 1694 was a phase in the struggle between the House of Commons and the Royal Prerogative. The old East India Company owed its existence, and its monopoly of Eastern trade, to Royal charter. As we have seen (p. 51), the House of Commons resolved* "that all the subjects of England have equal right to trade to the East Indies unless prohibited by Act of Parliament." Accordingly, in 1698 Parliament created a new East India

* January 19, 1694.

Company by statute, giving three years' notice to the old Company for the expiration of its privileges. A bitter feud followed between the two companies, both in England and in India. This was ended by the amalgamation of the two companies in 1702, and by the decision of outstanding questions between them by Godolphin's award in 1708.

East India Company's Difficulties. The old East India Company and its agents in India had treated the new East India Company and its agents as "Interlopers." But apart from these, the Company had to deal with wholly unauthorized "Interlopers" and pirates in the Eastern seas. The Privy Council in England about that time issued many proclamations and commissions for the suppression of piracy in the East. The Company had also to deal with mutiny in its own camp, such as Keigwin's rebellion in Bombay (1683-4) and a rebellion in St. Helena, which was then the halfway house to India. The incursions of the Marathas on land and of native pirates on the west coast of India still further added to their difficulties, while their little intermittent war with the Mughal Empire (1685-1690) caused a temporary closing of all their trading factories and their retirement to their small possessions in the island of Bombay and their fort at Madras.

Their First Possessions. Neither of these possessions had been acquired from the Mughal Empire, in which they were not permitted to buy land or erect fortifications. Their factories in Mughal territory were mere trading centres, held on lease, "of our landlord Aurangzeb," as the Surat lease expressed it. Their most profitable trade, as well as their most forward policy, had been in Bengal. Many attempts to fortify their factory at Hugli were unsuccessful. It was a rebellion of a local zemindar (landholder) at Burdwan which gave them, as well as the Dutch and the French, the opportunity of erecting fortifications and hiring troops with the sanction of the Mughal Government.

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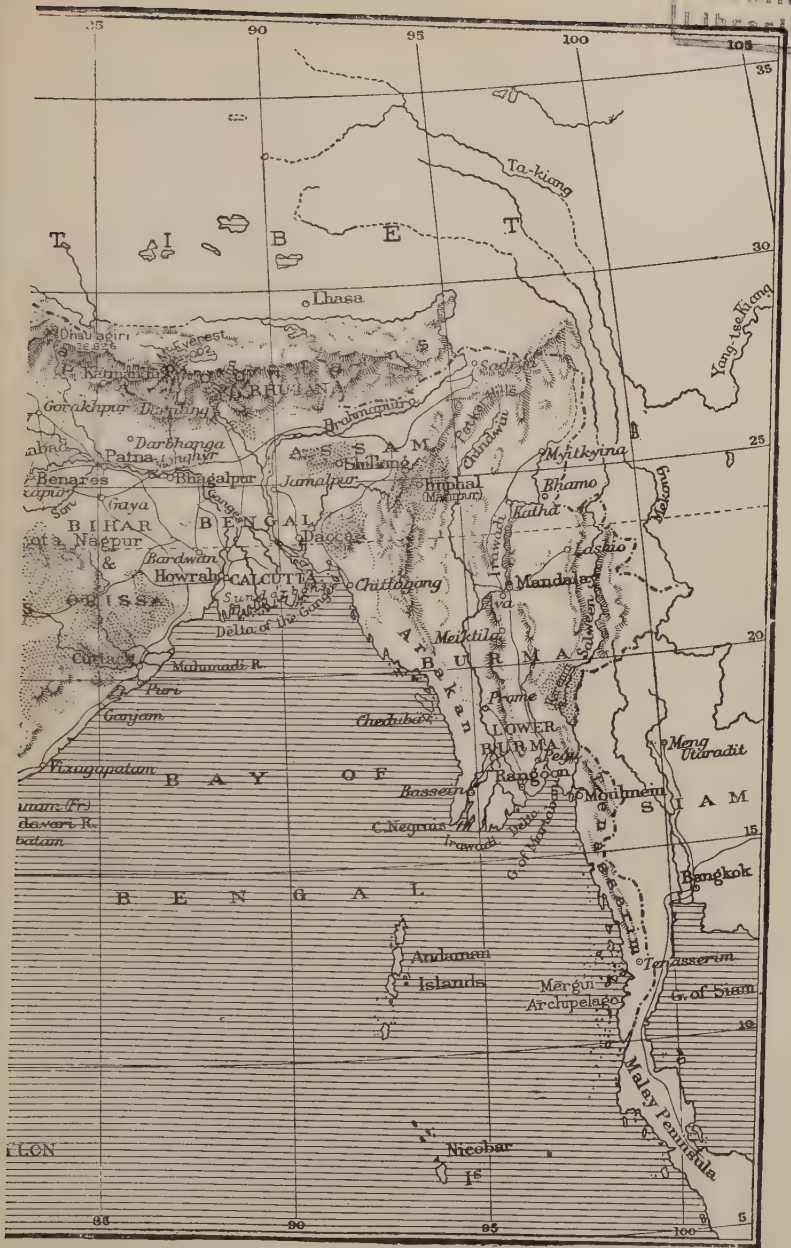

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The foundations of Calcutta were laid in 1690, but the Mughal grant of three villages in 1698 completed the title of the East India Company and established what became the nucleus of the premier Presidency in India.

Duties on Company's Trade. The Company had from the beginning negotiated favourable terms for their trade. In general, they had paid 2 per cent. duty on their goods. Aurangzeb raised this to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In Bengal, however, after the little war with the Mughals, they had obtained exemption from all duty by an annual composition of 3,000 rupees.

Company's Relations with the Mughal Empire. The Mughal Empire had no fleet worthy of the name, and no war equipments or discipline comparable with that at the command of the European companies. The central government, as well as the provincial governors, were glad to employ English sea power for the suppression of piracy, and to use English powers of resistance against rebels from their authority. They were disposed to grant favourable terms for trade in return. They also understood the material value of trade, and their provincial authorities, at any rate, also saw the danger of trade falling into foreign hands. One of Aurangzeb's grandsons, during his viceroyalty in Bengal, attempted to set up his own trade monopoly, 1700-1701, but this was forbidden by Aurangzeb, whose appreciation of the position was less clear than that of his local authorities on the spot.

Aurangzeb and the Consequences of his Policy. Aurangzeb died in 1707. He was the last of the great Mughal emperors. He had amplified the territorial limits of the Empire by the conquest of the Deccan: and by the end of his reign Mughal supremacy was more or less recognized all over India, including the province of Kabul (now included in Afghanistan). But his destruction of the Musalman kingdoms in the Deccan destroyed the counterpoise to the rising power

of the Marathas. He also reversed his predecessor's policy of conciliating the Hindus, and thus lost the support of the Rajput princes. The Sikhs also, in his reign, became definitely a militant and military organization. Previously they had been a religious brotherhood, which reflected the impact of Islam on a liberalized and democratized form of Hinduism.

Decline of the Mughal Empire. After a brief war of succession among the sons of Aurangzeb the eldest son established himself on the throne with the title of Bahadur Shah I. He died in 1712, after a brief reign of five years. None of his successors had any real power, and we may date the decline of the Mughal Empire from 1712. Thereafter the emperors were mere puppets in the hands of generals or of leaders of factions, with the chief provinces in revolt; and soon they came to be prisoners, dependents, or pensioners of other powers.

II.—DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, 1712—1748.

Four Movements due to the Break-up of the Mughal Empire. The period 1712-1748 was characterized by four movements, which we shall now consider successively. The first was the gradual assumption of semi-independent power by the more powerful of the governors of outlying provinces of the Mughal Empire. The second was the growing power of the Rajputs, Sikhs, and Marathas. The third was the Persian invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739. And the fourth was the consolidation of the French and British East India Companies in India.

Factions at Delhi. The immediate successor of Bahadur Shah I. owed his throne to a masterful prime minister who was also a military general. But his accession did not end the civil war, and eventually both he and his prime minister

were killed by another faction, who set their nominee on the throne. Thus factions rose and fell in Delhi, and the emperor for the time being was only a puppet in their hands. The more able of the provincial governors declined to obey the rule of the prevailing factions at Delhi. They tried to have their own supporters at court, and sometimes led their factions personally at Delhi; but when their ascendancy was not recognized they returned to their own provinces. Though they did not formally declare their independence of the Empire, they ceased to recognize the control from Delhi, or to remit revenues to the exchequer, and founded their own dynasties.

Founder of the Nizam's Dynasty of the Deccan. Chief amongst these governors was a Turkoman soldier of fortune who became prime minister in 1722 under the title of Asaf Jah. When his rivals gained the upper hand in Delhi, he devoted his energies to his province in the Deccan, and established his dynasty there. His title in the Deccan was Nizam-ul-Mulk. His dynasty still exists in the person of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, and has played a leading part in Indian history from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards.

Kingdom of Oudh. Another vizier who became the founder of a dynasty was Saādat Khan, whose province was Oudh, in Northern India. His was a Persian family from Khorasan. On account of the proximity of his province of Oudh to Delhi, he had many advantages in his rivalry with the Nizam-ul-Mulk. His family continued to influence the policy of Delhi much longer; but Oudh, like the Deccan, soon became a separate principality. One of his successors, Ghazi-ud-din Haider, assumed the title of "king" in 1819. The kingdom of Oudh worked in subsidiary alliance* with the

* For an explanation of the term "subsidiary alliance," see p. 218 below.

British Power, but its administration deteriorated rapidly, until it was annexed to British India in 1856.

The Province of Bengal. The third nobleman whom we shall mention as having established a semi-independent principality was the Viceroy of Bengal, with his capital at Murshidabad. Bengal had been one of the most fertile and prosperous provinces of the Mughal Empire. The French physician, François Bernier, who visited the Empire (1656-1668), while he draws a subdued picture of the country generally, paints in glowing colours the prosperity of Bengal. The Bengal viceroys had much to do with the East India Company from the beginning of its territorial ambitions in the Mughal Empire. It was a part of their functions which the East India Company assumed when Clive obtained a formal grant from the titular Mughal Emperor, conferring what was called the Diwani—that is, the financial administration—upon the Company. We may roughly date the independence of Bengal under its Viceroy from 1740, though to the last it retained touch with, and was treated as a part of, the Mughal Empire. The process of its absorption into British territory began with the battle of Plassey (1757) and may be said to have been completed in practice, though not yet in theory, when the Treasury was moved from Murshidabad to Calcutta (the East India Company's capital) in 1772, and British officers were appointed to collect the revenue. The payment of the tribute to Delhi was stopped in 1773.

The Rajputs. As regards the assertion of independence by Hindu powers, the story of the Rajputs is simple. Most of the Rajput chiefs had been absorbed as feudatories in Akbar's Empire, but continued to enjoy local autonomy. Their relations to Delhi were never strictly defined. Even in the reign of Aurangzeb, Rajput chiefs continued to command Imperial armies, but many of them began in his reign to break away. In the succeeding reigns the rupture was complete. They afterwards fell under the power of the Marathas.

The British, after they broke up the Maratha power in 1818-19, entered into treaty relations with the Rajputs. The states of Rajputana were thus brought into the Imperial system of British India.

The Sikhs. The Sikhs were in violent conflict with Delhi (1712-1716), but were, for the time being, effectually put down. Their real rise to power must be dated from the successes of Ranjit Singh, beginning with his acquisition of Lahore from the ruler of Afghanistan in 1799. We shall have occasion later to notice their subsequent history (see pp. 225-7).

The Marathas. Maratha history is more tangled during this period. The founder of their nation, Shivaji, had died in 1680. His successors were weak, and fell under the power of the Mughals. Meanwhile the whole authority in their capital, Poona, had fallen into the hands of a minister, the Peshwa (1714).

The Peshwas. While Shivaji's family fell into the background, the Peshwas established a dynasty of their own and sent armies north to take part in the internecine conflicts that were taking place at Delhi. They obtained grants from the titular Mughal emperors, giving them the right, which they had already conquered by the sword, to collect a fourth of the revenues of the Deccan. This brought them into conflict with the Nizam-ul-Mulk. They also extended their conquests to the province of Malwa in the centre of India (1736-1743). The Peshwa's dynasty were Brahmans, and claimed to exercise control from the centre over the fighting Maratha chiefs, with their mobile forces of hardy mountaineers, and to regulate the diplomacy of the Maratha confederacy. But these chiefs fought each for his own hand, and the confederacy was only loosely maintained.

Five Chiefs of the Maratha Confederacy. By the middle of the eighteenth century there were five Maratha chiefs. The titular head of the Marathas was the descendant of

Shivaji at Satara, in whose name the Peshwa claimed to rule from Poona, and to exercise authority over the other four chiefs. The province of Malwa was shared between Sindhia in the north, whose descendant—the Maharaja Sindhia—still rules at Gwalior, and Holkar in the south, whose descendant—the Maharaja Holkar—still rules at Indore. The Gaikwar's levies spread themselves over Gujarat and Kathiawar, where the Maharaja Gaikwar still possesses scattered territory, with his capital at Baroda. The fifth chief, Bhonslê, was related to the House of Shivaji, but carved out a principality of his own from his centre at Nagpur, and invaded Bengal itself in 1743. The power of this family was much curtailed after the third Maratha war (1817-18), and was altogether extinguished on the failure of heirs in 1853.

Invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739. The Mughal Empire had been in intimate touch with the Safavid Empire in Persia (1499-1736), both in regard to the interflow of the Muhammadan population and in regard to the relations of the ruling families. The Afghans, in the first flush of their victories as a nation, conquered Persia in 1722. Persian resistance was, for the time being, of no avail. But a Turkoman adventurer named Nadir helped to overthrow the Afghans and restore the Safavid Shah. Soon, however, the effete Safavids were deposed, and Nadir Shah established himself as the Shah of Persia. He also made himself master of Western Afghanistan, which, with the city of Herat, had, before the birth of the Afghan nation, belonged to Persia, as Eastern Afghanistan, with the cities of Kabul and Kandahar, had belonged to India. There was a great scattering of Afghan tribes, some of whom took refuge in India. These adventurers found a favourable soil for their intrigues in the disturbed atmosphere of Delhi. Nadir Shah asked for a surrender of some fugitives, and, not obtaining a satisfactory reply, made his famous invasion of India in 1739.

Delhi was able to offer only a feeble resistance. The viceroys of the Deccan and of Oudh came up to take part in the negotiations with so famous a conqueror, but they did not neglect to advance their own interests. When Nadir Shah was at the gates of Delhi the titular Mughal emperor was said to have been in his cups, and to have soaked the invader's letter in red wine, with the words: "This futile document is best drowned in drink." Nadir Shah returned to Persia with much loot, including the famous Koh-i-nur * diamond.

French East India Company. Colbert's French East India Company was founded in 1664, and had various struggles with the Dutch in India in the seventeenth century. By the beginning of the eighteenth century it had an important settlement at Pondicherri, about a hundred miles south of Madras, and a settlement at Chandernagore on the Hugli, a few miles north of Calcutta, besides a few minor settlements on the east and west coasts of the Peninsula. The approach to Chandernagore from the sea was blocked by Calcutta. On the other hand, the French possession of Mauritius gave the French a nearer naval base to the Coromandel coast on their way home than the British had in St. Helena. The British did not conquer the Cape from the Dutch till 1795, and finally till 1806 (see p. 267).

The English East India Company. The English East India Company had sent up an embassy with handsome presents to Delhi in 1713. What their diplomacy and presents were unable to achieve was at length effected by the medical skill of Surgeon Hamilton, who cured the Mughal of a serious disease. He was asked to name his own reward. He asked nothing for himself, but presented a comprehensive demand for trade privileges and territorial acquisitions on behalf of the Company in all the parts of India where the Company had settlements or factories. These were formally

* "Koh-i-nur" means in Persian "the mountain of light."

obtained in 1716-17 and very much strengthened the position of the Company in the dying Mughal Empire. The Company saluted the *farmáns** granting the privileges with great public ceremony, and in a sense the Company became a Grandee of the Mughal Empire. Meanwhile at home, the Company's trade monopoly came up for attack in the British Parliament at the renewal of their charter in 1733, and again in 1744. But on each occasion they succeeded in maintaining their monopoly. Their position as a political corporation was strengthened both at home and in India. Their financial strength was manifested by their steadying influence in the South Sea Bubble of 1720.

Anglo-French War, 1744-1748. For the French war (War of the Austrian Succession) which broke out in 1744, the East India Company lent the British government a million sterling, in return for which Parliament renewed their charter to 1780. The war between the two nations gave them an opportunity of eventually crushing their French rivals in India, with the whole nation at their back. The genius of Clive, coupled with the anarchy in India, which was now chronic and daily spreading over a larger and larger area, enabled them at length to realize the grandiose dreams of "a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come," which Sir Josiah Child had inspired in 1687.

Early French Successes. The conflict between the French and the English was mainly fought out in the Deccan. It must be admitted that the first honours rested with the French. De la Bourdonnais attacked and captured Madras from the sea in 1746. Differences, however, arose between him and Dupleix, the masterful Governor of Pondicherri. The French were very much weakened by divided counsels. But a British naval attack on Pondicherri failed. The French were also successful on land and they

* Edicts issued by the Mughal emperors.

easily disposed of a force sent by a local Nawáb* against them because they had presumed to fight with the English in his territories. The inconclusive Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, restored the *status quo* as between the English and the French in India.

III.—THE GREAT ANARCHY, 1748-1773 — INTERVENTION WITH THE "COUNTRY POWERS"—DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH — SUPREMACY ESTABLISHED IN NORTHERN INDIA.

New Phase of the Anglo-French Struggle in India. The restoration of Madras to the English by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) only nominally ended the struggle in India. The nations at home were now at peace, but their companies in India continued the struggle in another form. Both the French and the English began to intervene in the disputes of the "Country Powers." They began to use these powers as pawns in their own games. When disputes about succession arose, they put forward their respective nominees, whose resources they supplemented with their own. Here, again, the opening score was in favour of the French.

Protagonists and Scene of the Struggle. The protagonists in the struggle were Clive on the side of the English, and Dupleix and then Lally on the side of the

* The term *Nawáb* means "deputy" or "viceroy," and was originally applied to the Muhammadan governors of the Mughal Empire. When they founded semi independent dynasties, their own viceroys or agents were styled Nawábs. Later, it came to be applied to any Muhammadan dignitary. At the present day it is the title of certain Muhammadan ruling princes in India, and also of certain magnates on whom the title has been conferred by the British government, as a mark of either personal or hereditary distinction. In the early days of British rule, the Company's servants who became rich in India and kept state in England were called "Nabobs," from the title of "Nawáb," which they had enjoyed in the days of their power in India.

French. The scene of the struggle was mainly in the Deccan, though Clive operated against the French through their Allies in all the three Presidencies (Madras, Bombay and Bengal). The fight became open and direct during the Seven Years War, 1756-1763. But long before the Peace of Paris which ended the war (1763), the French power had been completely shattered in India.

Geography of the Deccan. The term "Deccan,"* as used in the middle of the eighteenth century, was held to include roughly the whole of Peninsular India, with the possible exception of the Maratha homelands, a strip of country of ill-defined width on the west coast between Bombay (English) and Goa (Portuguese). The coastal region of this Maratha tract is called the Konkan. The coast to the south of this is the Malabar Coast, to Cape Comorin, from which the general line of the coast turns north-eastwards to the Promontory of Tanjore District facing the island of Ceylon. From this promontory the coast runs north until the delta of the Kistna River is reached with the port of Masulipatam, the site of one of the earliest English agencies in India (1611). This is the Coromandel Coast, in the centre of which lies Madras. It is an open coast, noted for its surf, on which the skilful Tamils ply their catamarans. The coast districts between Masulipatam and the Chilka lake cover a length of 350 miles running north-eastwards and are known as the Northern Sarkárs or Circárs (see p. 204 and Appendix II. No. 5). The northern boundary of the Deccan was ill defined, but may be taken roughly to be the northern boundary of the modern State of Haidarabad, with Berar, prolonged eastwards to the Chilka Lake.

States of the Deccan. When Asaf Jah made his Province of the Deccan practically independent of the Mughal Empire,

* The Hindustani word "Dakhan" simply means the south. The term "Deccan" is often loosely applied to India south of the Tapti or Narbada Rivers, or sometimes south of the Vindhya Mountains.

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THE DECCAN.

his ambition was to extend its boundaries so as to include the whole of Peninsular India from sea to sea. On the west coast the Marathas, who obtained the recognition and sometimes the assistance of the English, successfully resisted his expansion. Excepting the Maratha area, he soon made his supremacy felt everywhere. On the Coromandel Coast a strip of territory extending from Cape Comorin* to the Kistna was governed by his viceroy, the Nawáb of Karnatik, with his capital at Arcot. He was a feudatory of the Nizam, and in his turn exercised overlordship over (among other chiefs) the Maratha house of Tanjore, governed by a feeble collateral of Shivaji, and cut off from the Peshwa's authority at Poona. A fragment of the Bijapur State was reorganized as the Mysore State under the old Hindu dynasty of Mysore, which was soon to be superseded by one of its Muhammadan generals, Haidar Ali.

English and French take Sides in Succession Disputes of Country Powers. All these States—the Nizam's, Karnatik, Tanjore, and Mysore, together with the Marathas—figure largely in the history of Southern India in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In 1748 Asaf Jah died, and there was a dispute about the succession. This dispute got entangled with the claims of a pretender to the Nawábi of Karnatik, whose *de facto* Nawáb was killed in battle in August, 1749. In both these succession disputes the English and the French backed up their own nominees. French diplomacy succeeded in putting two successive Nizams on the throne. In 1753 Bussy also succeeded in obtaining from

* The southern boundary of the Karnatik is stated to have been Tanjore (P. E. Roberts, "Historical Geography of India," Oxford, 1906, p. 73); but Madura and Tinnevelli Districts were treated as part of the Karnatik on the annexation of the Karnatik in 1801. For historical eighteenth-century purposes the Karnatik is the whole maritime tract of the Madras Presidency below the Ghats and south of the Kistna. For other uses of this term, see "Imperial Gazeteer of India," Oxford, 1908, ix., 301-2.

the Nizam an assignment of the revenue of the Northern Sarkárs. This territory, in the disturbed state of the country, almost became French. On the throne of the Karnatik, also, their ally Chanda Saheb had now the prestige of possession.

Fight for the Karnatik. The English nominee for the Karnatik, Muhammad Ali, was besieged in Trichinopoly in 1751 by large forces under Chanda Saheb, aided by the French. The relief of Trichinopoly was almost hopeless. But Stringer Lawrence and Clive attacked and took Chanda Saheb's capital Arcot, and thus relieved the pressure on Trichinopoly. The English in their turn were now besieged in Arcot, and Clive's fifty days' successful defence marks the brilliant opening of Britain's military career in India. Indian troops (sepoys) drilled by the British fought with heroic tenacity side by side with British troops, and followed up their victory at Arcot with other successes, until Trichinopoly was relieved in 1752, and Chanda Saheb was taken prisoner. Muhammad Ali became Nawáb, but the real power behind him was that of the British. His family ceased to rule after 1801. Clive has been called the founder of the British Empire in India and Stringer Lawrence the father of the (British) Indian Army.

French Power destroyed in the Seven Years' War. The French were still supreme in the Nizam's Court when the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe (1756-1763), involving a worldwide conflict between the French and the English. In North America the French attempt to link up Louisiana with Canada and shut out the British from the hinterland of their maritime colonies was defeated for ever by the conquest of Canada (1758-1763). In India, at the same time, the French attempt to shut out the British from Haidarabad, and to link up their own influence in the Deccan with their influence in Bengal, was defeated by the complete destruction of their power and that of their allies—first in Bengal and then in the south.

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BENGAL, ETC.

Capture of Calcutta by the Nawáb of Bengal, 1756. In 1756 Siraj-ud-daula, the Nawáb of Bengal, was alarmed at the growth and prosperity of Calcutta and the defection of many of his Hindu trading subjects, who found a congenial home under the Company's protection. He also complained of the abuse of the Company's trading privileges by their servants and agents in private trade, and of the extension of their fortifications without his permission. He ejected them from their factory of Kasimbazár (not a British possession) only five miles south of his capital of Murshidabad. With a large army he took Calcutta (June 20, 1756), from which the English governor and as many English as could find boat accommodation slipped some forty miles down the River Hugli to Falta, where the climate and fever were as deadly as the captivity of those left behind at Calcutta.

Clive recaptures Calcutta and takes Chandernagore. Clive and Admiral Watson, who had been suppressing Maratha pirates on the Bombay coast, arrived in the Hugli in December, 1756, with sea and land forces. The Nawáb had no naval force, and Calcutta was recaptured, almost without a blow, in January, 1757. The news of the outbreak of the Seven Years' War having been received, opportunity was also taken to capture (1757) and destroy (1759) the French possession at Chandernagore, higher up the river.

Battle of Plassey. The Company had now, in Siraj-ud-daula, an implacable enemy, smarting under their counter-blow. They resolved to depose him. They found a ready instrument in Mir Jaafar, a general and relative of the Nawáb, who entered into secret and treasonable negotiations with Clive, having for their object the elevation of Mir Jaafar on the throne of Bengal. Assistance was rendered, for a consideration, by certain wealthy Hindu bankers, who throve on such dubious transactions. Clive lost no time in sending an ultimatum to Siraj-ud-daula, and following it up

by a march on Murshidabad. He met the Nawáb's army at the village of Plassey, about thirty miles south of Murshidabad and one hundred miles north of Calcutta. On the Nawáb's side Mir Jaafar commanded the left wing. He had already sold himself to Clive, but another general of the Nawáb, Mir Mardán, fought bravely and was killed. The French artillery also gave a good account of themselves. But Clive easily won the field, with few casualties, while the enemy lost their whole camp, with guns and stores.

Presents and Grants. Mir Jaafar was now made Nawáb, and paid huge sums of money to Clive and other officials of the Company, besides damages to the inhabitants of Calcutta. He also gave the Company zemindari rights (*i.e.*, rights and jurisdiction as a landholder) over a district near Calcutta known as "The Twenty-four Parganas,"* with an assignment of its revenue to Clive, who thus became the Company's feudal superior. The grant was confirmed in 1758 by the Mughal emperor's *farmán*. But Mir Jaafar as Nawáb turned out neither competent nor loyal, and was superseded in favour of Mir Kasim (1760), who ceded the revenues of three more districts of Bengal to the Company. Friction arose with Mir Kasim also; and when Mir Jaafar was restored (1763), Mir Kasim sought the aid of the neighbouring Nawáb of Oudh. This led to further developments, to be described after a review of events in Madras in the Seven Years' War.

Events in Madras. Dupleix had been superseded in disgrace at Pondicherri by the French government in 1754. Count de Lally, who was sent out from France on the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, withdrew Bussy from the Nizam's Court, and thus gave away the first diplomatic advantages which the French had scored. He had much friction with the local French authorities in Pondicherri, and

* A "pargana" was a tract of land treated as a unit for fiscal purposes in the Mughal land revenue administration.

he failed in his schemes against the English in Madras. On the other hand the English, who had been winning brilliant successes in Bengal, sent a force from the north to occupy the Northern Sarkárs (1758). The Madras authorities (English) defeated the French decisively at Wandiwash* in 1760, and took and destroyed Pondicherri in the following year. Thus the French lost about the same time Canada and such chances as they had had in India.

Ferment in Northern India—Afghan Invasion, 1761. Meanwhile there was a great ferment in Upper India and on the North-West Frontier. The Maratha arm was reaching out farther and farther in all directions, levying tribute on Bengal and the Panjab, and interfering in Delhi politics. The Muhammadans in India felt their weakness and invited the assistance of their coreligionists from Afghanistan. Chief among those who sought such assistance were the Rohillas, an Afghan tribe settled in and about the tract now known as Rohilkhand in the United Provinces. In their quarrels with Delhi and Oudh they had been suppressed with the aid of the Marathas (1751), who eight years later captured Delhi (1759). The Afghans had founded (1747) a strong national State under Ahmad Shah, of the Abdali tribe, also known as Durrani. Ahmad Shah had received his military training under Nadir Shah, of Persia. The firstfruits of the vigorous policy of the new Afghan State was seen in repeated invasions of India. The Afghans captured Peshawar in 1747, and took the whole of the Panjab in 1751-52. Ahmad Shah's invasion in 1761 partook of the character of a Hindu-Muhammadan fight. The Marathas led the Hindu confederacy, but their collective power was destroyed at the third battle of Panipat (1761). Ahmad Shah, however, did not remain in India. A mutiny among his soldiers compelled him to return to Afghanistan. As the Marathas were weakened, the Sikhs grew stronger in the Panjab.

* About 70 miles S.W. of Madras, and 50 N.W. of Pondicherri.

Battle of Baksár, 1764. But we must return to the affairs of Bengal. When Mir Kasim sought the assistance of Oudh against the English, he implicated not only Oudh, but the Emperor at Delhi. The province of Oudh still remained in touch with Delhi, and its ruler, being the vizier of the Empire, was called the Nawáb Vizier. Oudh then included not only the modern province of Oudh, but the eastern districts of the present United Provinces, and portions of Rohilkhand and the Lower Doáb (tract between the Jamna and the Ganges). The British force which defeated Mir Kasim at Baksár (1764), therefore, also defeated the Nawáb Vizier and the Emperor. The Emperor immediately came into the British camp and became the Company's dependent. Oudh was overrun by British forces. The Nawáb Vizier, after a few months' resistance, threw himself on British generosity. It devolved on Clive personally to make the settlement, which was embodied in a *farmán* of the Emperor dated August 12, 1765.

Terms of 1765. The Company could have taken over the whole of Oudh; but the Directors' instructions were against this course as impolitic: "full of burden but destitute of profit." Clive, therefore, detached the Districts of Korah and Allahabad (roughly the modern districts of Fatehpur and Allahabad) from Oudh and assigned their revenues to the Emperor; confirmed the zemindaris of Ghazipur and Benares to a Hindu feudatory of Oudh (ancestor of the present Maharaja of Benares); and got the Diwani (fiscal administration) of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa in the Company's name; with a confirmation of all other territory in the Company's possession. In the same year the Nawáb of Bengal became a mere pensioner of the Company, who took over military defence; carried on the revenue administration under the Emperor's grant, in their own name, but through Indian officials; and appointed Indian officials to carry on the civil government, in the name of the Nawáb. Stripped

of all pretences, the Company became masters of Northern India, from the Gangetic Delta to the Panjab, subject only to the incursions of the Marathas. Further, they had secured the person of the Emperor, who resided under their protection at Allahabad till 1771, after which the Marathas held him in their power until 1804, when the British captured Delhi and pensioned off the Emperor.

Powers in the Deccan. In the Deccan the elimination of the French made the Nizam the chief power, and his State was mentioned and recognized in the Treaty of Paris (1763). But it was not till after some conflict that he recognized the growing power of the Company. The Company also obtained for themselves (1765) a direct grant of the Northern Sarkárs from the Emperor, and another grant making the Nawáb of the Karnatik (a dependent of the Company) independent of the Nizam and holding direct nominally from the Emperor. The Marathas of the south continued to harass the Nizam from the west, while Haidar Ali, who had become ruler of Mysore in 1761, became a formidable rival for supremacy in the Deccan. The rest of the eighteenth century in the Deccan became a complicated struggle, either singly, or in ever-varying combinations, between the Company, the Nizam, the new Mysore dynasty, and the Marathas. The Company's treaty with the Nizam, of 1766, laid the foundations of an alliance which, though interrupted by the Nizam's anti-British confederacy in 1779, and considerably modified by subsequent facts, remains good in substance to the present day.

Clive and Warren Hastings. Clive was a lieutenant-colonel at thirty-one (1756); Governor of Bengal 1757-1760; and again Governor 1765-1767. He was, as we have seen, a brilliant commander, and a skilful diplomatist. But neither his training nor his character fitted him to organize a spotless administration in Bengal according to English ideas. Indeed, the circumstances were against him. While

the servants of the Company (including himself) grew rich, the finances of the Company itself did not improve. Bengal was impoverished, and the famine of 1770 was one of the worst of which we have any detailed record. It was left to Warren Hastings, under a wholly different system of control and organization, to attempt to tackle the moral and economic abuses, and the pressing problems of a consistent policy with the people and princes of India, and of administrative and judicial reform. The year 1773, when the Regulating Act was passed by Parliament, marks the foundation of the Constitution of British India.

IV.—CONSOLIDATION AND ORGANIZATION, 1773–1819.

Regulating Act, 1773. The Regulating Act of the British Parliament, 1773, altered the constitution and government of the East India Company and brought the Company's territories and affairs in India more directly under the authority of Parliament, the supreme power in the State. The Company's constitution now became more oligarchical, and this in itself tended to tighten the control of the Company (except in matters of trade) by the King's ministers. The ministers, also, by indirect exercise of patronage,* could man the Company's higher services in India with a *personnel* more fitted to carry out British traditions. The creation of the Supreme Court in Calcutta also meant the organization of a reformed judiciary in touch with the traditions of English law and jurisprudence, though these were mainly applied at that time to British persons. Hindu and Muhammadan law were vaguely recognized under certain limitations for those who followed respectively the Hindu and Muhammadan religions.

* The actual patronage remained in the hands of the Company, and was exercised by the Court of Directors. For example, they recalled Lord Ellenborough from the Governor-Generalship in 1844.

Sovereignty in India. The proceedings in Parliament for some years prior to the passing of the Act had raised the question of sovereignty in the territories held by the Company in India. The Company claimed that the territories were only their property. The sovereignty of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa still resided in the Mughal Emperor, and their position was merely that of administrators. This was strictly true as a matter of legal theory. The Company's coinage continued to be in the name of the Mughal Emperor* till as late as 1835, and "British subjects" in the Regulating Act and in legal documents of the period meant what are now known as "European British subjects." But in fact the Company raised armies, made war and peace, entered into treaties, established courts, and issued regulations. The Company to all intents and purposes performed the functions of a Sovereign. Public opinion in England considered that no subjects of the King could acquire sovereign rights for themselves, but only for the Crown as representing the nation. The tacit assumption underlying all British legislation henceforward was that the East India Company exercised sovereignty in India on behalf of the British nation, and the complete control of the ministers of the Crown was gradually established over the Company. No date can be definitely assigned for the cessation of the Mughal sovereignty before the assumption of the government of British India by the Crown in 1858. But the stoppage of the Bengal tribute in 1773, the discontinuance of *nazars* to the Mughal, or presents symbolical of sovereignty, in 1818; and the issue of rupees† with the effigy of William IV. in

* The Emperor's name and the "year from accession" became a mere formula on the Company's coins, and did not, in later times, correspond either with the actual name of the living Emperor (who did not reign), or with the date at which the coin was struck.

† The rupee is the standard coin of India. It is of silver (180 grains) and used to be worth over 2s. in English money, until the value of silver fell from 1873 onwards. It was fixed when the currency reforms of 1893

1835, mark three stages in the formal recognition of a process begun by Clive in 1765. The Regulating Act also unified British India by establishing the office of Governor-General and giving him plenary authority over Bengal, and authority in regard to peace and war and treaties in the other two Presidencies (Madras and Bombay). The term "Presidency" is a relic of the old system of the Company's government, when each principal settlement was presided over by a President. The Presidency armies were not abolished till 1895.

Warren Hastings Governor-General—Difficulties with his Council. Warren Hastings was Governor-General from 1774 to 1785. He had been Governor of Bengal from 1772, and he continued to govern Bengal directly after he became Governor-General. It was not till 1854 that the direct administration of Bengal under a Lieutenant-Governor was separated from the Governor-Generalship. Hastings was also associated in the government with a council of four, three of whom formed a combination to outvote him in his measures of internal administration. This factious combination lasted until 1776, when two of his opponents died. It was not till the time of Lord Cornwallis that the Governor-General was given power to overrule a majority in his Council.

Friction between Judicial and Administrative Machinery. But Hastings's difficulties were not confined to disputes in his council. The creation of the Supreme Court, with ill-defined powers and jurisdiction, added to the complications of administration. The conflict of executive and judicial machinery was not a mere passing phase. It persisted in India, both in the highest courts and in the

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came into force. From 1899 to 1908 it was fairly stable at 1s. 4d. The disturbance of all the exchanges in the Great War also affected the rupee. The rise in the value of silver relatively to gold has sent up the exchange value of the rupee, which stood in August, 1919, at 1s. 10d., and in October, 1919, at 2s., with a still rising tendency.

lower courts. Even now the occasional friction between the administrative and the judicial machinery tends to defeat the ends of justice.

Internal Reforms. Financial reforms and readjustments went hand in hand with Hastings's administrative reforms. The dual system, under which Bengal had suffered from 1765 to 1772, perpetuated the worst abuses of the old system of Nawábi,* on account of the retention of the old agency. Now English servants of the Company, denominated "Collectors," were given fuller powers, and forbidden to take any presents. Accounts were completed, and accurate rules were established for assessing and collecting the land revenue and keeping the records. The treasury was moved from Murshidabad to Calcutta, and the members of council were charged with the duty of auditing the accounts by rotation. The Company's courts were reorganized, and the study of Indian languages was encouraged. Hastings himself set the example by establishing colleges for the cultivation of Oriental learning, and he was a liberal patron of Oriental arts and letters.

Hastings's Foreign Policy. In his dealings with the Nawáb Vizier of Oudh, and the complicated questions that arose out of the Company's engagements with that potentate, Hastings's conduct may appear to have been harsh and arbitrary, but he was acquitted of all charges after a protracted impeachment of seven years (1788-1795) before the House of Lords. Hastings pushed forward British administration to include what now form the Eastern districts of the United Provinces,† and cleared Oudh of foreign adventurers. But his two important wars were those with the Marathas and with Haidar Ali, complicated by the Anglo-French war which broke out in 1778. The dreams of French dominion in India had been shattered in the Seven Years' War (1756-

* Administration of the old Nawábs.

† Then known as Benares Province.

1763), as we have seen; but they were revived in the war of 1778-1782, especially as England was engaged in a struggle with her American colonies. France not only allied herself with those colonies, but French officers and adventurers in India helped the military organization of Sindhia and appeared at the courts of the Peshwa and Haidar Ali.

The French. Though French sea power was exerted with some success in the West, Hastings's vigorous policy in India forestalled the appearance of the French fleet (1782) by the capture of the French settlements on both the Coromandel and the Malabar coasts (1778). They were restored by the Peace of Versailles, 1783.

First Maratha War. The First Maratha War (1775-1782) was inconclusive. The Bombay government did not always act in concert with the Governor-General, and its forces were weak and suffered disaster. Hastings sent a strong expedition from Bengal under General Goddard, which marched right across the peninsula from east to west (1779). By clever diplomacy Sindhia's influence was secured for the Company. The Treaty of Salbai* (1782), which closed the war, made the Peshwa a British pensioner.

First and Second Mysore Wars. The Mysore Wars were less satisfactory for the British. The first Mysore War (1767-1769) had made Haidar Ali conscious of his power. The second Mysore War (1780-1784) was fought by Hastings under very disadvantageous circumstances. The Nizam himself was scarcely friendly, but he was soon detached from Haidar Ali. The Marathas too made peace with the British in 1782, and Haidar's early successes in the Karnatik were soon turned to defeats. Hastings mustered the forces of all the three Presidencies against him, and his allies the French had lost their own possessions. Haidar Ali died in December, 1782. His son, Tippu Sultan, carried on the war with some success on the west coast, but his

* Thirty miles south of Gwalior.

resources were exhausted, and he made peace in 1784 on the basis of the *status quo*.

Party Politics in England. Meanwhile India was in the midst of the vortex of party politics in England. The defeat of the Whigs at the General Election of 1784 was partly due to the money forces behind the East India Company. India's money raised the price of the pocket boroughs in England and made them the prize of the moneyed interests. Indian policy also became subject to the fluctuations of party politics in England. Pitt's India Act (May, 1784) created the Board of Control, whose president was a minister of the Crown, and the powers of the (Company's) Court of Directors became more restricted. Warren Hastings, feeling that he had not the confidence of Pitt, resigned in 1785.

Lord Cornwallis. After a short interregnum Lord Cornwallis succeeded as Governor-General (1786-1795). He was a member of the landed aristocracy of England, from among whom Governor-Generals have usually been selected since. He succeeded to the problems which Warren Hastings had only partly solved. But his influence with the home ministry and his detachment from the Company's servants in India gave him an advantage in reforming the Company's services. The government of the Peshwa was now in the hands of an able minister, Nana Farnavis, who gave steadiness to Maratha policy during the twenty-eight years of his sway (1772-1800). The house of Sindhia in the north was represented by Mahadaji, an astute diplomatist, and a vigorous soldier. The Maratha alliance was therefore of some value. Tippu was burning for revenge. Lord Cornwallis concluded a tripartite treaty with the Nizam and the Marathas and defeated Tippu in the third Mysore War (1790-1792). Half the territory of Tippu was partitioned among the Allies.

Permanent Land Revenue Settlement. In an agricultural country like India, in which the land revenue forms the most considerable single item in government resources, the

assessment, collection, and administration of land revenue bulks very largely in the economic life of the people. The experience of a generation in Bengal had not yet evolved any definite and satisfactory principles. Lord Cornwallis, in conformity with the policy of the Directors, introduced (1793) the Permanent Revenue Settlement into Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa (so far as it was then under the Company), and it was extended later (1795) to the Eastern Districts of the United Provinces, which the Company had already acquired. The State demand on the land was fixed in perpetuity and was levied from the zemindars, who had formerly been farmers of revenue. The corollary of the regulation of agricultural rents also by the State, in the interests of the actual cultivators, was not introduced till much later (1859).

Twenty Years of Rapid Expansion, 1798-1819. The twenty-one years from 1798 to 1819 are covered by the rule of three strong Governors-General—Lord Wellesley (1798-1805), Lord Minto (1807-1813), and Lord Hastings (1813-1823)—who carried out a rapid expansion of British dominion, and worked out the beginnings of the imposing structure of the government of India's foreign policies in the Empire of India. Lord Wellesley was assisted in his wars by the brilliant military genius of his brother, Arthur Wellesley, who afterwards won worldwide fame in his Napoleonic campaigns in the Peninsula and at Waterloo, and became the Duke of Wellington. Lord Minto used India as a base for British expansion in Malaya and the Indian Archipelago, and forged a further link in the chain of communications with Australia. Lord Hastings rounded off the policy of expansion in India. After his conquests there was no challenge (except at the Mutiny) to British supremacy in India. The period roughly coincided with England's great struggle in the Napoleonic wars, and many of its incidents are connected with Napoleon's ambitions in the East.

Subsidiary Alliances. Before this period the English

had fought either to safeguard their trade or to win territory, but not to establish their universal supremacy. Wellesley sought to make Subsidiary Alliances the universal rule with Indian States. Under a Subsidiary Alliance the State reduced its own army, and relied for its external defence on the troops of the Company, subsidized for the purpose by the cession of definite territory. The subsidies had formerly been given in cash, and had often got into arrears. The new system augmented the Company's territories, resources, and fighting strength, and at the same time reduced the fighting strength of the subordinate ally, which also undertook not to employ, deal with, or receive any foreigners except the English. They also helped, like Pitt's European Coalitions, to supplement military power by diplomatic organization. Neither Oudh nor the Nizam entered willingly into these arrangements, but they had to yield, with an accretion to the Company's territory in each case.*

French influence was thus eliminated from the courts of the princes who accepted these alliances, while those who refused came into conflict with the superior power of the Company, and were eventually wiped out.

Fourth Mysore War, 1798: End of Tippu. Tippu Sultan and the Marathas declined to come into the scheme of Subsidiary Alliances. Tippu had sent envoys to Louis XVI. at Versailles, 1787-1788; now (1797-1798) he sought the assistance of the French Directory by sending ambassadors to the Governor of Mauritius. Frenchmen, scattered after the capture of Pondicherri by the English in 1783, congregated in Seringapatam. French privateers landed red-hot republicans and Jacobins on Tippu's territory on the Malabar coast. They preached the doctrine of the "Rights of Man" and "hatred to kings, except Tippu Sultan the victorious, the ally of the French Republic, war against tyrants, love for our country and that of Citizen Tippu."

* See the Table showing the growth of the British Empire in India, Appendix II.

Yet the French were able to give little assistance to Tippu when war was declared against him by Wellesley (fourth Mysore War, February 22 to May 4, 1799). British forces from Bombay and Madras converged on his capital, Seringapatam, which they took after a rapid campaign of two months. Tippu died fighting. Mysore was stripped of its maritime and other territory. The reduced territory was given to a descendant of the old Hindu dynasty. From 1831 to 1881 it was administered by the British, after which it was handed back to the Maharaja. Mysore is now reckoned among the most progressive States of feudatory India.

Second Maratha War (1802-1804). Wellesley's war with the Marathas (second Maratha War, 1802-1804) was scattered all over India, and was complicated by the fact that the office of Peshwa was itself in dispute. In the south Arthur Wellesley won a brilliant victory at Assaye,* 1803. The campaign in the north was entrusted to General Lake, who met and defeated Sindhia's troops, trained by French generals, and took the cities of Agra and Delhi, 1803. The Mughal Emperor was released from the Marathas, and, though he retained his title and dignity and a small estate of land, he ceased to count in politics. The Company added to its territories (1) the western districts of the United Provinces, (2) the Province of Bundelkhand (except Jhansi), which was taken from a dependent of the Peshwa, (3) the province of Katak (Cuttack), being that part of Orissa which had remained in the hands of the Marathas, and (4) the district of Broach, which, added to Surat (annexed 1800), gave central Gujarat to the Bombay government.

India as the Base for the Extension of British Influence in Asia. Though Lord Wellesley's recall (1805) meant the reversal of his forward policy, events in England and the world at large made it difficult to treat India as an isolated unit. Lord Minto came out to India (1807) with parlia-

* Now in the Nizam's territory, 45 miles north-east of Aurangabad, and near the famous Ajanta caves.

mentary, diplomatic, and ministerial experience. He did much to counterbalance in Asia the French successes in Europe, and carried the home government with him. India became the focus of Britain's diplomatic, military, and naval successes throughout the East. His mission to the Sikh ruler, Ranjit Singh, in Lahore (1809) advanced the British frontier generally to the Satlaj, and established peace with and in the Panjab for thirty years. His missions to Kabul and Persia laid the foundations of British Indian relations with the Muhammadan States on the borders of India, and have an important bearing on Britain's Imperial policy in the nineteenth century.

Java, Singapore, and French Islands of the Indian Ocean. Lord Minto went personally to Java in 1811, and completed the conquest of the islands in the Indian Archipelago, which had belonged to Holland, then under the power of France. Though Java was restored to the Dutch at the general peace in 1819, British influence was established in Malaya, and the acquisition of Singapore in 1824 placed the Empire in possession of the key to the Far East. The Malay possessions were governed from India till 1867. This expansion in Farther India synchronizes with the beginnings of colonization to Australia, to which free emigration was opened in 1821. The conquest of the French islands in 1810, of which Mauritius and some minor islands remained in the Empire after the general peace, also gave another link in the chain of communication by way of the Cape. The Cape had been occupied some years before, and had been finally occupied in 1806.

Ceylon. Meanwhile the island of Ceylon had been conquered in 1796. It was attached to Madras for two years, after which it became a Crown Colony independent of India. The British possession of Ceylon was recognized by the Peace of Amiens, 1803. The Dutch had merely occupied the maritime settlements; the British completed their occupation of the interior by the capture of Kandy in 1815.

Abolition of Indian Trade Monopoly. The Company's trade monopoly in India was abolished in 1813. Missionaries and merchants were thereafter freely admitted to the country, and they constituted a valuable non-official element in British society in India, which had an important influence on the growth of education, journalism, and public opinion. The ultimate consequences went far beyond anything consciously aimed at.

Remaining Elements of Disturbance in India. The British were in 1814 in occupation of the coasts of India, and from Bengal had pushed their frontier up-country right up to the Panjab. But the internal confusion of Maratha polity had prevented the incorporation of the Maratha States in the Imperial scheme of subordinate alliances. The confusion in the central tracts of India had also encouraged the formation of gangs of mobile freebooters called Pindaris, whose leaders, sometimes under one Maratha chief or another, sometimes on their own account, ravaged the country and invaded British frontiers. This restless spirit also animated the Gurkhas, a sturdy, warlike race which ruled over the Kingdom of Nepal in the Himalayas. The first task of Lord Hastings was to deal with the Gurkhas. After two cold-weather campaigns (1814-1816) the Gurkhas made peace in the spring of 1816, surrendering the Himalayan districts to the modern United Provinces. They rendered fine assistance to the British in the Mutiny (1857-58), and still supply Gurkha recruits to the Indian Army.

Pindaris Suppressed: Last (Third) Maratha War. The operations against the Pindaris and the Marathas may be described together (1817-1819). As a preliminary, negotiations were opened with the Rajputana States, which deputed agents to the British Resident* at Delhi to conclude alliances with the British. Certain chiefs in Central India, including the young Nawáb of Bhopal, followed their example and sought

* Resident = the political agent accredited by the British Indian government to reside at the court of an Indian State.

the British alliance. The Marathas waited and watched, with an ambiguous if not hostile attitude. Troops from Bengal, Haidarabad, Madras, and Bombay hemmed in the Pindaris and uprooted their organization. Meanwhile the Marathas had broken out in open hostility, and the third and last Maratha War (1817-18) crushed the chiefs who had offered uncompromising hostility, and brought the others under the scheme of subsidiary alliances. The Peshwa's dynasty was extinguished, and his territory formed the greater portion of the Bombay Presidency as now constituted (except Sindh). The States of Sindhia and Holkar were retained, with small territorial adjustments. The Raja of Nagpur's territory was much reduced, and the British accretions round the Narbada were afterwards absorbed, on the extinction of the Bhonslê family (1853), to form the Central Provinces. The Gaikwar had already been in subsidiary alliance and was passive through the war; his State remained substantially intact.

Position in 1819. By 1819 the map of India became substantially what it is now, with the following exceptions. Sindh and the Panjab were like foreign States, outside the scheme of Protected States. Oudh and Nagpur had not yet been annexed, but were like the other Protected States. Burma (which annexed Assam in 1822) held aloof from the Indian system. But Lord Hastings had achieved his object, the establishment of the *pax Britannica* under the guarantee and supremacy of the British Government. He also left the finances in a flourishing condition.

V.—LIBERALISM AND REFORM (1819-1835) WITH IMPERIAL REACTION (1835-1857)—SEPOY MUTINY (1857-1858).

Features of the Period 1819-1858. The forty years from 1819 to 1858 saw further geographical expansion in British India, but not on any new principles. On the other

hand, there was a marked growth in liberalism; an evolution of organized institutions; and a clearer definition of policy both in India and in the countries penetrated from the Indian base. In the later period there was a great Imperialist wave which led to the disasters of the first Afghan War (1838-1842) and the wholesale annexations in the period of the administration of Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856) and the ten years preceding it. These movements may be compared and connected with parallel movements in English history: the Whig ascendancy, 1820-1841, and the meddlesome, often hasty, "firebrand" foreign policy of Lord Palmerston, who, except for an interval of five years (1841-1846) was the British foreign minister from 1830 to 1851, and was prime minister (excepting an interval of two years) from 1855 to 1865. It will be best to describe these features in India in parallel narratives rather than treat the whole period chronologically.

First Burmese War, 1824-1826. Aden, 1839. The first annexation after the pacification of 1819 was that of the territory conquered from Burma after the first Burmese War, 1824-1826. This war carried the frontiers of India beyond the areas reached by Mughal influences. The Burmese early in the nineteenth century had advanced by land westwards, and in 1822 had conquered Assam. Emboldened by their successes, they began to encroach on British territory. War became inevitable. When hostilities were actually commenced, in 1824, insufficient resources were employed in the sea expedition to Rangoon, and the local conditions were not sufficiently studied. A small steamship was for the first time used in India in this war, only twelve years after the first steamship had been seen on the Clyde. The result of the war was the addition of Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim to British India. Burma still retained Rangoon and the adjacent coastal tract; but, with that exception, the British obtained the sea coast right up to the

Malay Peninsula. Their occupation of Karachi in Sindh, 1839, took them up to the coast of Baluchistan. The occupation of Aden in the same year established a maritime outpost of India on the opposite side of the Arabian Sea.

First Afghan War, 1838-1842. The first Afghan War, 1838-1842, had its roots in a larger view of Imperial policy than that involved in a mere defence of India. At that time the Panjab was under a strong Sikh government, and the Amirs who ruled in Sindh were inoffensive and certainly not hostile to the British power. But Russia had been expanding in the direction of Central Asia. The treaty of Turkomanchai, 1828, between Russia and Persia had reduced Persia to a state of subservience to Russia, and civil wars in Afghanistan had tempted the Persians, under Russian instigation, to attempt the recapture of Herat. Lord Palmerston's policy in Europe was wholly directed against Russia. The Afghan Amir Dost Muhammad having refused to listen to the British overtures it was resolved to substitute for him on the Afghan throne Shah Shuja, who had formerly ruled in Afghanistan but was now an exile in India.

Course of Events. The Panjab being then in the hands of Ranjit Singh, the British effected their entry into Afghanistan by the southern route, through the Bolan Pass. Forces were sent by both the Bengal and the Bombay armies, the latter by way of the sea and up the Indus through the territory of the neutral Amirs of Sindh. Kandahar was taken in the spring of 1839, and Kabul in August that year. Dost Muhammad fled, and Shah Shuja was installed. For two years the British occupied the cities of western Afghanistan. But in the winter of 1841 the Afghans rose in their fury, murdered British agents and officers, and annihilated General Elphinstone's army on its retreat to Jalalabad (January, 1842). Sale's brigade at Jalalabad held out to the end. In September, 1842, the army of retribution reached Kabul. After due punishment

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it returned to Peshawar in November. Shah Shuja had been killed, and Dost Muhammad regained the throne.

Importance of the North-West Frontier. The blood and treasure spent in the Afghan War led to no results. But it left as a legacy the intricate questions connected with the North-West Frontier. The Russian menace continued to haunt British foreign policy until 1907, when the Anglo-Russian Convention was supposed to have laid it to rest. The Great War of 1914-1919 has, however, revived it in another form. The Afghan frontier is an important question in Imperial defence. It is not merely a local question of the defence of India. With it are bound up the questions of Persia, Mesopotamia, Central Asia, and the future developments of Bolshevism in Russia and Eastern Europe.

Sindh and the Panjab. The occupation of Sindh in 1843, immediately after the Afghan War, was a move in the game of Imperial policy.* It was followed by the first Sikh War, (1845-46). The Sikhs in the Panjab had been restless and disorganized since the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839. In December, 1845, their powerful army was without a strong leader, and invaded British territory across the Satlaj. Four costly actions were fought, at Mudki, Firoz-shahr, Aliwal, and Sobráon, all east of the Satlaj. The Sikhs were finally driven across the river. Their power of resistance was broken, and Lahore (their capital) was in British hands. The treaty which followed provided for the cession of Kashmir, which was made into a Protected State under a Dogra family, and the annexation of Hazára (on the Afghan frontier) and the Jullundur Doáb, *i.e.*, the territory between the Satlaj and the Biás Rivers. Arrangements were made for the administration of the remainder of the Panjab under British supervision. These arrangements, however, did not work smoothly, and the second Sikh War (1848-49), in Lord

* Sir Charles Napier is said to have announced his conquest of Sindh by a laconic pun : *Peccavi* (I have Sindh [*sinned*]).

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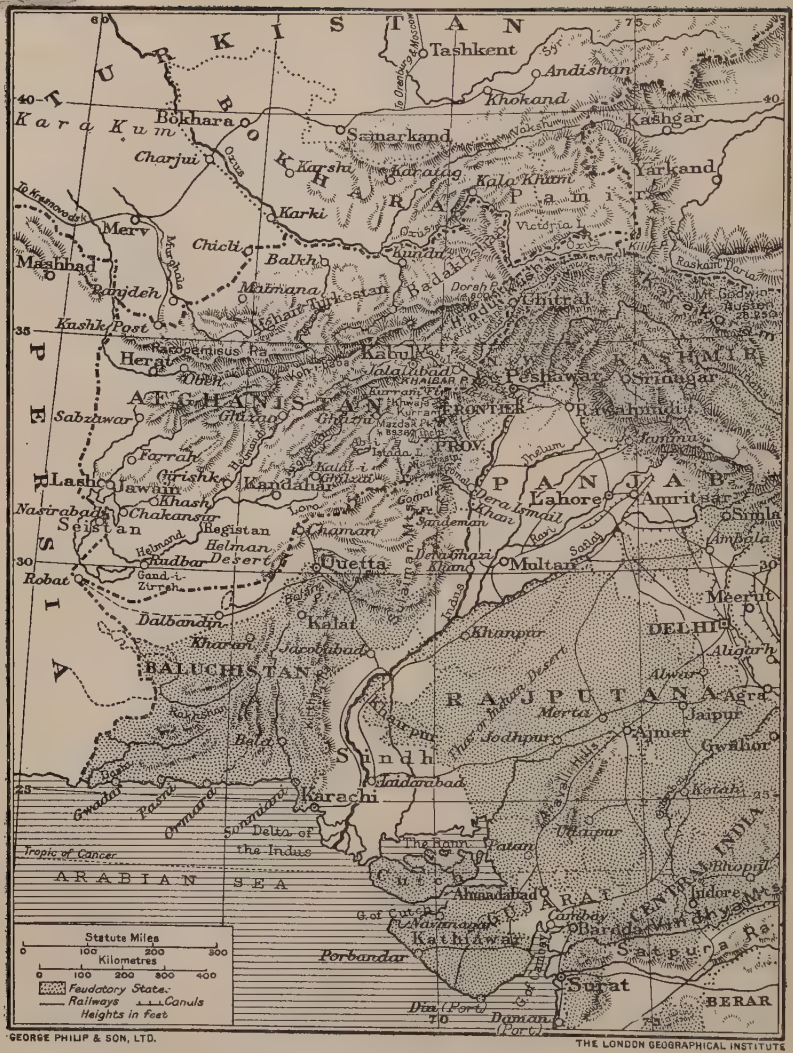

MAP OF AFGHANISTAN, ETC.

Dalhousie's governor-generalship (1848-1856), led to the incorporation of the whole of the Panjab. This war began with a revolt at Multan. The two battles in it were those

fought at Chiliánwála (January 1849), where the Sikhs made good their fine fighting qualities, and at Gujrát (February 1849), where the British won a decisive victory. The Panjab was now annexed and became a British Province

MAP OF THE PANJAB, ETC.

Conquest of Lower Burma. The second Burmese War, 1852, was rapid and decisive, and ended in the addition of the town of Rangoon, and the whole Delta of the Irawadi as far north as Thayetmyo and Toungoo districts, to the British Indian Empire. The Burmese now lost all outlet to

the sea, and their court at Ava led a secluded existence until 1885.

Three Constitutional Questions: (a) Lapse. During Lord Dalhousie's rule three other important territories were acquired, not by conquest, but by the application or extension of constitutional doctrines. Two of these, viz., the doctrine of lapse, and the doctrine of deposition for a low standard of administration rather than for hostility to the British power, were much discussed at the time, and had a great deal to do with the ferment which ended in the Mutiny (1857-58). The doctrine of lapse was repugnant to Hindu feeling. On the failure of natural heirs to the Maratha house of Bhonslê, it was held that the Nagpur territories had lapsed to the British as the Paramount Power, and were annexed (1853), forming the greater part of the present Central Provinces. Under Hindu law, a man or woman can, on the failure of natural heirs, adopt a son, and the adopted son stands in all respects in the position of a natural son. The case of adoption did not arise in the Nagpur case; but it arose in other cases, and it was ruled that adoption only affected questions of private property. In matters of State the paramount power would recognize adoption as a special privilege in special cases. The doctrine of lapse was expressly renounced in 1859.

(b) Assigned Territories. We have seen that in the early days of the growth of the British power the Company frequently took territory by arrangement with Indian rulers, for the expenses of maintaining contingents for the defence of the protected State. Most of these territories were by now (1853) incorporated in British India. But in some cases cash payments had been stipulated instead of an assignment of territory. These often fell into arrears and led to much avoidable friction. The cash payment for the Haidarabad contingent, by the Nizam of Haidarabad, was an instance in point. It was arranged in 1853 that in lieu of cash payments a tract of country should be assigned for British occupation, it being

understood that accounts would be rendered as between the government of India and Haidarabad. The Nizam assigned Berar for this purpose (1853), but the settlement of accounts raised many intricate questions, and since 1902 the transaction has been put on the footing of a perpetual lease, while the Haidarabad contingent has been merged in the Indian Army. Berar has been for all administrative purposes British since 1853. It may be added that neither this nor any other question disturbed the excellent relations between the Nizam and the government of India. In the Mutiny the Nizam was one of the stanchest of British allies, and his services during the Great War (1914-1919) were rewarded with the title of "His Exalted Highness," by which he alone among the Indian ruling princes is entitled to be addressed.

(c) **Rights and Responsibilities of Paramount Power as regards Protected States.** The doctrine of non-interference with the internal affairs of Indian Protected States is a sound and accepted doctrine, but it requires some qualification. Ultimately the paramount British power is responsible for a tolerable standard of good administration. Where misgovernment becomes intolerable, the paramount power has the duty to advise reform and the power to make arrangements for improvement. But these arrangements should be temporary and should be carried out in the spirit of a trust, or—to use a quite modern phrase—a mandate; it is neither just nor politic to set aside the Ruling Family altogether except for proved hostility or open disloyalty. In the case of Mysore, misgovernment led to a long period of British administration (1830-1881) and not to annexation. Unfortunately this policy was not followed by Lord Dalhousie in 1856, when he deposed Wajid Ali Shah, King of Oudh, and annexed his territory. The King had always been loyal to the British power, but he was a poet and visionary, and had allowed his administration to drift into disgraceful disorder. The annexation was very unpopular in Oudh, and created a

sense of insecurity among other Indian princes. The rendition of Mysore to its Hindu ruling family in 1881, and the investment of the Maharaja of Benares with ruling powers in 1910, are, among many others, positive instances of the reversal of this policy.

Liberal Movements and the Men at their head: (a) British. We turn now to the growth of Liberal ideas in the government of the people of India. The period immediately preceding and succeeding the Reform Bill in England, 1832, had its counterpart in India and the Colonies. In Canada the famous Report of Lord Durham (1839) laid the basis of self-governing institutions, which led to the birth of nations within the Empire. In India, Governors like Sir Charles Metcalfe (who acted as Governor-General 1835-36), Mountstuart Elphinstone (Governor of Bombay, 1819-1827), and Sir Thomas Munro (Governor of Madras, 1820-1827), worked unceasingly to apply the most liberal doctrines in government to the conditions of India. Metcalfe liberated the Press; Munro was an enthusiast in the cause of Indian education, and not only believed in the greater employment of Indians in the administration, but foresaw the possibility of a self-governing India; and Elphinstone summed up his creed in "light assessment [of land revenue], clear laws, education, and employment." Among the Governors-General, Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835) carried the simplicity of British character and the spirit of British freedom into his work in India; abolished the rite of *sati*, or the self-immolation of Hindu widows; and effectually suppressed the secret criminal gangs known as Thugs. He acted on the principle that the interests of the people of India must be the supreme consideration of government.* With the help of his Law Member of Council, Macaulay (1834-1838), he gave the impulse to the codification of law in India and to

* Adapted from Macaulay's inscription on Lord William Bentinck's statue in Calcutta.

the foundation of a sound system of English education. Sir Charles Wood's Despatch on Education, 1854, formulated the organization of vernacular education on modern lines and led to the establishment of the three Presidency Universities in 1857.

(b) **Indian.** Among the Indian men of note, representing progressive movements in this period, three may be mentioned. Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) was the founder of a reform movement in Hinduism, which has had a much wider influence than among the special followers of his doctrine. Dwarka Nath Tagore (1795-1846) belonged to a wealthy family, and used his wealth in the cause of reform and Indian education and advancement. Both these men died and are buried in England. Ram Ghopal Ghose (1815-1868) opened up the higher regions of commerce and politics for his countrymen, and gave practical support to the cause of women's education.

Changes in the Constitution of the Company and the Government. The constitution of the Company and the government also underwent radical changes. After the abolition of the Company's trade monopoly in India in 1813, its commercial character receded more and more into the background, and in 1833 it ceased to have any connection with commerce. The Charter Act of that year also altered the legislative machinery in India. Hitherto the Executive Councils of the three Presidencies had made Regulations having the force of law in the respective Presidencies. Now the legislative power was taken away from Bombay and Madras.* The Governor-General's Council legislated for the whole of India, and issued Acts instead of Regulations. For purposes of legislation the Council had an additional Member, and thus we see the beginnings of the differentiation between the Legislative and the Executive Councils. The Act also gave statutory recognition to the right of "Natives"

* It was not restored till 1861.

of India to hold "any place, office, or employment under the Company." The Charter Act of 1853 enacted the admission to the Civil Service of India by open competition instead of by patronage.

Development of Communications, and Economic Reforms. Financial and economic changes and the development of communications were at the same time transforming the character of the country. The printing press was coming more and more into use, not only for the printing of English, but for the printing of vernacular newspapers and journals. Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856), who had had experience of the Board of Trade in England before he came out to India, founded the Public Works Department. Communications received special attention. The first railway, from Bombay to Thana, was opened in 1853, and a comprehensive scheme for railway development was laid down. The electric telegraph was introduced and rendered useful service in the Mutiny. The half-anna* inland postage was instituted from the very date that the first postage stamp was issued in 1854. The Suez route between England and India was adopted in 1843, although the Suez Canal was not constructed till 1869. Irrigation and navigation canals were developed from the time of Lord Auckland (1836-1842) onwards. These were a great boon to the agricultural community, for whom moderate principles of land revenue settlement were worked out. The example of the Permanent Revenue Settlement of Bengal was not followed in other Provinces. In Bombay and Madras the settlement was made with individual ryots (ryotwari system)—*i.e.*, cultivators—for definite terms of years after which there is a revision. In the United Provinces,† the Central Provinces, and the Panjab, similar periodical settlements are made either with village communities or with

* Half-anna = $\frac{3}{4}$d., according to the rate of exchange then current. Penny post was introduced in England in 1839.

† Formerly known as the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

zemindars—*i.e.*, landholders—on definite principles which were laid down in 1822 and 1833 for what were then called the North-Western Provinces.

Neglect of Indian Army. In spite of the great wars that had been waged, and the military expansion that had followed, the army had received less attention than it deserved. There was no unified Indian Army under one command. Sepoy* troops formed three separate Presidential armies. The European troops were either the Company's troops or the Queen's troops, with petty jealousies between them. The Barrackpore Mutiny, 1824, was a symptom of weak discipline, and the brunt of the fighting in the first Burmese War had fallen on the European troops. Lord William Bentinck (1828-1833) had little belief in the Sepoys. The great progress made in civil administration by 1857 was not paralleled by measures to bring the Army more into touch with the British system.

Mutiny, 1857. The Bengal Army had been largely recruited in Oudh, which, since the Annexation, was full of discontent. The Mutiny of the Bengal Army, which broke out at Meerut in May, 1857, became in Oudh something like a rebellion of the people. The most disturbed area, apart from Oudh, was that between Delhi and Patna. The feeling of want of confidence, arising out of the forward policy of Lord Dalhousie, caused many local outbreaks in Central India. The other provinces remained comparatively quiet. The Sikhs of the Panjab actively assisted the government, as also did the Gurkha government of Nepal and the Muhammadan State of Haidarabad.

Chief Centres: (a) Delhi. The chief centres of the Mutiny were Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore. From May 11 to September 14, 1857, Delhi was in the hands of the mutineers, who had set up the old titular Mughal Emperor on the throne. But there was no coherent rebel

* *Sepoy*, corrupted from Hindustani, *sipáhi*, a soldier.

organization in the city itself, and hardly any co-ordination outside. Each mutineer leader fought for his own hand. The British, with the assistance of some loyal Panjab troops, took up their position on the ridge north of Delhi, and steadily pushed forward siege operations. In September they captured the city.

(b) **Lucknow.** In Lucknow Sir Henry Lawrence had made preparations to stand a siege. The actual siege began on July 1, 1857, when 1,720 souls, of whom 700 were Indians, were shut in at the Residency. Sir Henry Lawrence was killed on July 2; his epitaph, composed by himself, simply says, "he tried to do his duty." During the protracted siege of three months an old pensioned Sepoy Angad went through backwards and forwards seven times, carrying despatches. On September 25 Generals Outram and Havelock entered Lucknow. It was not till November 17 that the city was finally relieved by the commander-in-chief, Sir Colin Campbell. The province of Oudh was, however, still in flames, and Lucknow was evacuated and not reoccupied till the spring of 1858.

(c) **Cawnpore.** Cawnpore owes its evil fame in the Mutiny to the presence there of Nana Sahib, an adopted descendant of the old Peshwa. He usurped power on June 7, 1857, and was responsible for two massacres, one of which is commemorated by a solemn monument, in the Memorial Garden at Cawnpore, with an Angel by the Anglo-Italian sculptor Baron Marochetti. Havelock took Cawnpore on July 17, and then made several unsuccessful attempts to relieve Lucknow, before the successful attempt in September, which we have already mentioned. The fortunes of Cawnpore were afterwards bound up with the operations from Central India and round Oudh.

End of the Mutiny; Exit Company; Assumption of Government by the Crown. By the spring of 1858 the Mutiny may be said to have been quelled, although sporadic

operations continued in an enormous area, and the pacification was not complete till 1859-60. Many deeds of valour were performed by the British and the loyal Indians during that perilous time, to save India from anarchy. Parliament in 1858 took up the Indian question, and passed a Bill ending the existence of the East India Company except for purposes of winding up its affairs. The Crown now assumed the direct government of India, and Lord Canning, who had been Governor-General from 1856, became, from November 1, 1858, the first British viceroy of India. He laid down his office in 1862. His policy in the Mutiny and the Pacification has been criticized on the one hand as too drastic and on the other as erring on the side of clemency. But he brought India through a dangerous crisis "with fortitude, judgment, and wise clemency."* The modern history of India dates from 1858.

VI.—FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION. DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT. GROWTH OF NATIONALISM. THE GREAT WAR, 1914-1919. ANGLO-SAXON IDEAS AND IDEALS IN INDIA, 1858-1919.

Expansion of Anglo-Saxon Ideas, 1858-1919. Point of Division in 1892, when Election Principle was Recognized in Councils. The sixty years 1858 to 1919 have seen a marked expansion of Anglo-Saxon ideas, ideals, and institutions in India. The expansion has been continuous, and the political awakening gradual, with a very accelerated pace in quite recent times. If it is necessary to divide the period into two, the year 1892 may be taken as a convenient point of division. Before that year the Legislative Councils had consisted mainly of officials of the government, with a few non-officials nominated by the government, without any

* Quoted from the inscription on his tomb in Westminster Abbey.

power to ask questions, move resolutions, or introduce motions except in the consideration of Bills actually introduced by the government. The Councils Act of 1892 introduced the principle of election, without using the word, gave members the right of asking questions, and of discussing, but not voting on, the Budget. The further reforms carried out in 1909 and projected now (1919) we shall consider later.

This process of internal growth was not interrupted by wars, which had been the chronic features of the earlier periods. Apart from frontier expeditions, which may be considered the normal work of the Indian Army, and the Great War, there were only two considerable wars on the North-West and the North-East Frontiers of India. These wars—viz., the second Afghan War and the third Burmese War—except as matters of external defence and of Imperial policy, had little influence on the internal growth of India.

Second Afghan War, 1878-1880.—The second Afghan War (1878-1880), like the first, was undertaken to counteract Russian influence; but by now the Russian danger was very real and pressing, as the Russians had made themselves masters of Central Asia, and Russian policy was hostile to Britain in the East. In 1876 the British had annexed the Quetta territory by negotiation with the Khan of Kalát, and brought themselves within striking distance of Kandahár. From November 1878 to July 1879 the British were in occupation of Eastern Afghanistan, and had made a treaty which surrendered Afghanistan's foreign relations to them. In July, 1879, the Afghans rose against them, with murders and massacres. In the autumn of that year General Roberts (afterwards Lord Roberts) occupied Kabul, and in August 1880 he made his famous march to Kandahár. Eventually a stable government was established in Kabul under Amir Abdur Rahman, and the British withdrew in April 1881.

Third Burmese War, 1885. Annexation of Upper Burma, 1886. As the Afghan War was mainly directed

against Russia, the third Burmese War (November 14 to 28, 1885) was mainly directed against the growing advance of the French on the North-Eastern Frontier. The French, who had occupied Cochin-China, 1858-1867, had, in 1883-84, established their protectorate over Annam and Tong-King. They thus controlled the delta of the River Mekong and the left bank of that river for a considerable length of its course, being neighbours to Siam and Upper Burma. The feeble hands of King Theebaw could hardly be expected to guard his independence. His dispute with the British at the end of 1885 led to a two weeks' campaign, after which he was deposed, and Upper Burma was annexed (1886).

Third Afghan War, 1919, and Importance of the North-West Frontier. The incipient Indo-Afghan War of the summer of 1919 (May to August) deserves mention mainly as a symptom of political instability on the North-West Frontier. The old Russian Tsarist danger was supposed to have been removed by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, but the Bolshevik government that has arisen after the collapse of Russia in 1917 has thrown Central Asia into a ferment, which is materially affecting events in Afghanistan. After some not very serious fighting, the Afghans have entered into a provisional treaty (August 8, 1919) by which they lose their annual subsidy and permission to import arms through British India, and submit to a rectification of their frontier on the side of India; but they seem to have obtained, by implication, a recognition of their liberty in respect of foreign affairs. Considering the unrest in the Muhammadan world at large, the North-West Frontier of India will continue to dominate Anglo-Indian foreign policy, and this was the principal reason for the creation of the North-West Frontier Province by Lord Curzon in 1901. The creation of this province also necessitated a change in the name of the old North-Western Provinces and Oudh, which have since been christened the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

Psychological Effects of Wars in which India played no part. Two more wars must be mentioned which, though not affecting India directly, have had an important psychological bearing on Indian history. The victories of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) thrilled the whole of Asia and strengthened the position of those who believed in the power of Asiatic countries to hold their own in the world. On the other hand the misfortunes of Turkey in the wars of 1911-12 and of 1912-13 produced a feeling of soreness in the Indian Muhammadans which the prospect of a partition of the Turkish Empire after the Great War of 1914-1919 is not calculated to allay. Both these psychological factors must be taken into account in estimating the forces that will govern the immediate future of Eastern politics.

Finance. The finances of India were the first care of the reconstituted government after the mutiny. Mr. James Wilson was sent out (1859-60) from Lord Palmerston's ministry to apply his English experience of finance to Indian conditions. His Budget speech of February, 1860, marks the starting-point of Indian budgets which, during a period of fifty-nine years, have consolidated Indian credit and made social and political advance possible. In the earlier days land revenue was the chief source of government revenue. Gradually newer and newer sources of revenue, direct and indirect, from taxation and from State public works, have been devised. In spite of the wars in which India has been engaged, the National Debt (including the £100,000,000 assumed by India as her share of the Imperial burden on account of the Great War) amounts only to £370,000,000, on which the interest charges are more than covered by the revenue derived from her productive public works.

Famines and the Organization for Relief and Prevention. The uncertainties of the monsoons,* combined with

* The main rainfall of India is derived from certain winds, which blow from the Indian Ocean from May to September, and are called the South-West Monsoons. Their weakness or failure causes famines.

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the small margin of income among the people, cause periodical famines in India. During the decade 1890-1900 there were two widespread famines. In the famine of 1896-97 the maximum number of persons relieved per day was four millions; in the famine of 1899-1900 it was six and a half millions. Beginning with the Bengal famine of 1770, the theory and practice of famine relief have been carefully elaborated. The reports of three great Famine Commissions, those of 1880, 1898, and 1901, have carefully reviewed the conditions of the problem, and have resulted in the preparation of Famine Codes, which provide details for the machinery and working of famine relief. The principle adopted is to start large public works in which labour is the chief element in the cost, and to employ on them able-bodied workers on wages just sufficient for subsistence. Others than able-bodied workers receive gratuitous relief, either in poor-houses established at convenient centres, or in their own villages. A sum of £1,000,000 is set aside annually in the Budget for famine relief and insurance. The Indian famine is a shortage not so much of food as of employment. Industrial development will help to lessen the importance of agricultural failures. The American Civil War (1861-1865) started the Bombay cotton industry, and the Great War has given an impetus to manufactures generally. The jute industry of Calcutta is in British hands. The Industrial Commission of 1918 has reviewed the question of government aid to industries and made valuable suggestions. If carried out, they will vary the occupations of the people, and make them less universally dependent on the uncertainties of agriculture. This will provide a valuable means for the prevention of famines.

Education. There has been a remarkable development of education, and especially English education. The three Presidency Universities of 1857 were followed by the foundation of the University of Lahore, 1882, and the University of Allahabad, 1887. In the twentieth century numerous Uni-

versities have been founded or projected, including denominational Universities and Universities in the Feudatory States. The proportion of men undergoing University or secondary education to the total population is high in India. Unfortunately, the education of women and the primary education of the masses have made little headway; but both subjects are receiving marked public attention.

Local Self-government. Municipal institutions in the Presidency towns are almost as old as the British connection, though they have been transformed out of all recognition from their old oligarchical character to the fuller life of the big modern corporations, mainly elected, which control the manifold activities of the towns. In other towns and in rural districts local self-government, with elective and nominated members, was established all over India in the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon (1880-1884). Their powers and financial responsibilities have been enlarged from time to time. Under Lord Chelmsford, who became viceroy in 1916, a scheme has been drawn up for completing the edifice of local self-government, including the development of Panchâyats, or village councils.

Legislative Machinery. Under the Imperial Parliament's Indian Councils Act, 1861, legislation for the whole of India was entrusted to the viceroy's executive government, assisted by a few "additional members" nominated for the purpose. A similar constitution was provided for the three Presidencies for local legislation. By 1892 the organs of public opinion were sufficiently developed for the introduction of the principle of election in a tentative form (see p. 235 above). The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 (Lord Morley was then Secretary of State for India and Lord Minto viceroy) considerably enlarged the councils and gave them wider powers. Although members of the Executive Council continued *ex officio* to sit in the Legislative Councils, the latter became distinct legislative bodies. But there was not the slightest

approach to responsible government. Lord Morley expressly disclaimed any idea of introducing parliamentary institutions into India.

Progressive Realization of a Responsible Government. Public opinion now began to move fast. In the councils, in the Press, and on the platform, there was ceaseless agitation for the further expansion of political institutions, and an extremist party had grown up which even gave more or less veiled support to revolutionary methods. In August 1917 the policy of the imperial government was announced by Mr. E. S. Montagu in the British House of Commons. Indians were to be increasingly associated in the administration, and self-governing institutions were to be gradually developed "with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." Substantial steps were to be taken in this direction at once; and proposals to this end have been embodied in a Bill which is now (autumn of 1919) under consideration by a Select Committee of the two Houses of the British Parliament.*

The Vernacular Press. All these official measures of political reform presuppose, and are conditioned by, a vigorous growth of non-official political activity in India. The vernacular Press has been growing in influence and power. Lord Lytton found it necessary to curb its excesses in 1878. Though Lord Ripon removed the restraint in 1882, political press prosecutions under the ordinary law of sedition or "disaffection" had to be undertaken in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Since then the Press Law has been rendered more stringent, and a fairly strict censorship has had to be undertaken during the war.

The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. But the Press reflected only one side of the

* This Bill passed its third reading in the House of Commons without a division in December 1919.

manifold political activity stirring the people. The Indian National Congress, which first met in 1885, and has since met in different centres every year, symbolized the birth of a national feeling in India and the desire for representative institutions. The election, in 1892, by a London constituency, of an Indian (Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji) to the British House of Commons, created a direct link between Indian, British, Irish, and world politics. Thereafter we find the leading ideas of British politics emphasized in India. Self-government in India, similar to that of the self-governing units of the British Empire, was definitely put forward as the goal in the Congress of 1905. In 1907 there was a cleavage between the Extremist party and the Moderate party, although in subsequent years they continued to work together in the Congress. The far-reaching reforms now under consideration have, however, widened the cleavage, and the Moderates have, for the present (1918-19), withdrawn from the Congress. The Muhammadans as a body held aloof from the Congress in its earlier stages. In 1908 they formed a separate political body, the Muslim League, and in the reforms of 1909 they obtained a separate Council electorate for their community (called "communal electorate"). In 1912, however, they accepted the Congress ideals, and have since worked with the Congress.

Unrest and Revolutionary Propaganda. As a foil to the constitutional movements must be mentioned the vague unrest and the underground revolutionary propaganda. It is not easy to estimate their precise influence. But in spite of a series of outrages and crime commencing with 1896, and fomented during the Great War, in and outside India, by the enemies of the Empire, the vast mass of sober opinion in India may be said to be free from any taint of revolution. Economic causes have been behind a good deal of the unrest. The unfavourable status of Indians in the Dominions and self-governing colonies has also caused much heart-burning. Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal in 1905 caused a violent

agitation. The partition was reversed in 1911, when a different redistribution of provinces in the original Presidency of Bengal was carried out. The Muhammadan unrest is connected with a different set of circumstances. The unrest in the general Muhammadan world finds a ready response in Indian Muhammadan feeling.

India's Record in the Great War. A brief reference to India's fine record in the Great War is desirable, to lead up to India's present position in the Empire. Although the Indian army and Indian resources had been used many times before in the service of the Empire, the Great War was the occasion of an unprecedented rally on the part of India and the Dominions. The total contribution of Indian *personnel* was a million and a half, of whom nearly a million served overseas. The combatant strength of India on the outbreak of the war in 1914 had been only 194,000. The first oversea contingent to take its place side by side with the British Expeditionary Force in France was that from India, numbering 28,500 men. Besides keeping their own wide-flung frontiers (a responsible task), Indian troops fought for the flag in France and Flanders, in East Africa and Tsing-Tau, in Gallipoli, Aden, Egypt, and Salonica, and in Palestine and Mesopotamia. In the last two theatres of the war India bore the brunt of the fighting, and supplied the bulk of the *matériel*. In the words of India's commander-in-chief, General Monro: "India's share in the operations which culminated in the capture of Baghdad consisted in the provision of over three-quarters of the force employed, over three-quarters of the river-craft, and the whole of the railway *matériel* and *personnel*, without which the operations would have been impossible." The Indian Munitions Board turned out from its clothing factories in a single month over two million garments. India's undertaking of the hundred millions sterling of the Empire's war debt, which increases India's previous national debt by a third, is only a portion of the financial assistance rendered by the country. Above all,

the princes and the people of India showed a spirit of co-operation and a sense of realities which have deservedly won for them a new national status within the Empire, a place in the Imperial Conference and the Imperial War Cabinet, and a position as one of the original members of the League of Nations.

The Crown and the Darbárs. The Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (and of the Dominions beyond the seas) was in the Darbár* of 1877 (Lord Lytton's) proclaimed Empress of India. The second Darbár (presided over by Lord Curzon) of 1903, to announce the coronation of Edward VII., brought together all the elements constituting the Empire of India, before whom the viceroy placed the ideals "of expanding industry, of awakened faculties, of increasing prosperity, and of more widely distributed comfort and wealth." The third Darbár, that of 1911, was presided over by the King-Emperor (George V.) and the Queen-Empress in person. One of its announcements was the change of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi. This, coupled with the readjustments in the administrative boundaries of Bengal, Bihar, and Assam, was not a mere geographical arrangement. The government of India had, in their despatch of August 1911, sketched their vision of political expansion and decentralization, with autonomous provinces and allied Feudatory States, in the centre of which Delhi was to be a symbol of controlling authority. Events have since moved faster than the writers of the despatch could have foreseen. The bond of the Crown with India, both British and Feudatory, has been drawn closer. The Maharaja of Bikanir, as representing the Feudatory States, was one of India's representatives at the Peace Conference of 1919.

Sea-Power and Moral and Political Qualities. We might now take a brief geographical retrospect. Sea-power is writ large in the British history of India. But besides the

* *Darbár*, in Hindustani, means a court or royal council, or a solemn assemblage in which the ruler gives public audience.

sea-power there were the moral qualities and the political genius which we associate with the Anglo-Saxon race. The Portuguese failed in their dominion because their politics were dominated by religious intolerance and unbending racial arrogance. The Dutch hopes in India proper were extinguished when, on the stage of the world at large, British sea-power became predominant at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. The French had the biggest struggle with the British of any European nation in India. But the French political system was unstable from the middle of the eighteenth century, and their East India Company, being almost a State concern, had not the flexibility and the power of adaptation of the English East India Company. Moreover, English influence in Bengal had already been established from the Gangetic Delta upwards before the French struggle began in the south, and this made the final result a foregone conclusion.

Geographical Explanation of the Growth of British India. The three Presidency bases having been established as fulcra for Britain's naval power, Calcutta became an admirable base from which the British power could grow towards the centre of gravity, which was then in Delhi. The position of the Madras coast with the gentle slopes of the Eastern Ghats to the table land of the Deccan was, as might be supposed, calculated to build up the Madras Presidency, from the plains of the Karnatik upwards, second in order of time. The Bombay territories were built up last; the sheer heights of the Western Ghats forbade any easy extension inwards until the Madras Presidency had taken shape. The central tracts came in last of all, with the exception of the frontier provinces of Sindh and the Panjab, which bring us into touch with the problems of Central Asia, Persia, and Mesopotamia, and beyond, with those of Russia and Eastern Europe. Burma lies outside of India proper, but was, from pre-British days, much influenced by India. Arakan had often been a thorn in the side of the Muhammadan

authorities in Bengal. If the latter had had naval power they would have extended their authority to Burma. The British were strong at sea, and had no difficulty in incorporating Burma in three stages, first the maritime tracts, then the Irawadi Delta, and finally the whole of the interior.*

The Influences radiating from British India. The growth of Australia in the eighteenth century, and the occupation of Hong-Kong in 1842, taken with the occupation of Singapore from India, extended British influence right up to Eastern Asia. With Aden, Karachi, Bombay, and the Cape flying the British flag, the Indian Ocean became a British lake. The whole of Persia, under the Persian treaty of 1919, comes under British influence. The Persian Gulf was already recognized as exclusively in the British sphere. The conquest of Mesopotamia and Palestine, the establishment of the King of the Hejáz with British help, and the protectorate of Egypt, bring half the long and much-indented sea-coast of Asia under British control, from the Palestine ports, through the Red Sea, the South Arabian coast, the Persian Gulf, the coast of India, and the Malay Peninsula right up to Singapore. In the centre of this vast political influence England sits enthroned in Delhi as the greatest land power in Asia as well as the greatest sea power in the world.

India's Rebirth and Spiritual Kinship with Anglo-Saxon Races. With this visible outward expansion, in politics, commerce, and communications, has gone on a cultural penetration, a political, legal, moral, and spiritual development, which is of even greater importance. India has a much older civilization than Europe. But her rebirth has taken place under institutions and ideas implanted from England, and the remarkable influence of the English language and English literature has brought her into spiritual kinship with the Anglo-Saxon races.

* See Appendix II., and the map attached thereto.

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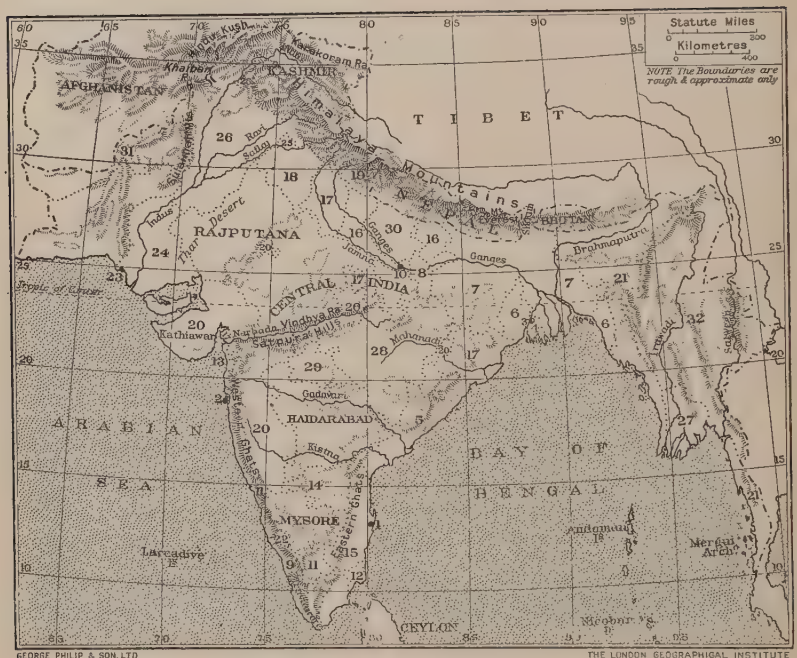
APPENDIX I

VICEROYS OF INDIA

Lord Canning	1858-1862
(Had been Governor-General from 1856.)	
Lord Elgin (eighth Earl)	1862-1863
(Died in India.)	
Sir John Lawrence (afterwards Lord Lawrence) ...	1864-1869
Lord Mayo	1869-1872
(Assassinated in the Andamans.)	
Lord Northbrook	1872-1876
Lord Lytton	1876-1880
Lord Ripon	1880-1884
Lord Dufferin...	1884-1888
Lord Lansdowne	1888-1894
Lord Elgin (ninth Earl)	1894-1899
Lord Curzon	1899-1905
Lord Minto (fourth Earl)	1905-1910
Lord Hardinge of Penshurst	1910-1916
Lord Chelmsford	1916-



SKELETON MAP OF INDIA.

The figures shown on the map refer to the numbers in the first column of Appendix II. (pp. 249-253).

APPENDIX II

GROWTH OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA

TABLE SHOWING PRINCIPAL STAGES

Serial Number. (See map.)	*Date.*	*Name of Tract.*	*From whom acquired.*	*Modern Name of approximately corresponding Tract.*
1	1639-40.	**Madraspatam.**	Raja of old Vijayanagar dynasty after it was overthrown by the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan.	Madras (Presidency Town) — Fort St. George.
2	1661.	**Bombay**	Portuguese, who got it from the Muhammadan dynasty of Gujarat, 1534.	Bombay (island; Presidency Town).
3	1690.	**Villages of Kali Kotta, Chatanati, and Gobindpur.**	From the Nawáb of Bengal, confirmed by Mughal Emperor, 1698.	Calcutta (Presidency Town) — Fort William.
4	1757.	**Clive's Jagir of the twenty-four Parganas.**	Zemindari, from the Nawáb of Bengal; confirmed by Mughal Emperor, 1759.	District of Twenty-four Parganas (Bengal).
5	1758.	**Northern Sarkárs.**	Conquered from the French, to whom they were ceded by the Nizam in 1753, confirmed to the Company by the Mughal Emperor, 1765.	Districts of Guntur, Kistna, Godávari, Vizagapatam, and Ganjám (Madras).
6	1760.	**Districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong.**	Zemindari, from Nawáb of Bengal.	Bardwan Division and Chittagong District (with presumably Chittagong Hill Tract).

Serial Number. (See Map.)	Date.	Name of Tract.	From whom acquired.	Modern Name of approximately corresponding Tract.
7	1765.	Provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa.	Diwani, from the Mughal Emperor. The greater part of Orissa was, however, occupied by the Marathas.	Bengal. Bihar (including Orissa).
8	1775.	Benares Province.	Nawáb Vizier of Oudh.	Benares Division.
9	1792.	Malabar (Coorg restored to a local Raja, but annexed to British India in 1834). Dindigul. Baramahal and the Lower Ghats.	From Tippu Sultan, after Third Mysore War.	District of Malabar (except Wynaad subdivision, which accrued in 1799). Portion of Madura District. Major portion of district of Salem.
10	1798.	Fort of Allahabad.	From Nawáb Vizier of Oudh.	Allahabad.
11	1799.	All maritime territory belonging to Mysore. Coimbatore and Dhárápuram. Wynaad.	From Mysore, after the Fourth Mysore War.	Districts of South and North Kanara. District of Coimbatore. Wynaad sub-division, in Malabar District.
12	Oct. 1799.	Tanjore.	Raja of Tanjore, pensioned off.	District of Tanjore.
13	May 1800.	Surat.	From the Nawáb of Surat, descended from a Governor appointed by the Mughal.	District of Surat (portion).
14	Oct. 1800.	Ceded districts. Territory assigned to Nizam after the Third and Fourth Mysore Wars, 1792 and 1799.	Ceded by the Nizam.	Districts of Bellary, Anantapur, and Cuddapah (portions). Karnul was a distinct Nawabi, annexed in 1842.

Serial Number. (See Map.)	Date.	Name of Tract.	From whom acquired.	Modern Name of approximately corresponding Tract.
15	July 1801.	Karnatik.	Deposition of the Nawáb of Arcot (capital of Karnatik).	The Madras Districts between the Eastern Ghats and the Bay of Bengal, from District Nellore to Cape Comorin.
16	Nov. 1801.	Ceded districts from Oudh.	Nawáb Vizier of Oudh.	Gorakhpur Division, Allahabad Division (north of the Jamna), eastern portions of Rohilkhand and Agra Divisions.
17	1803.	Bundelkhand. Katak (Cuttack). Broach. Sindhia's possessions north and east of the Jamna.	From the Marathas (Second Maratha War).	Bundelkhand Division, U.P., except Jhansi, which was annexed in 1853. Orissa. Broach District. Western Districts of the United Provinces, and portions of Delhi and Hissar Districts.
18	1809.	Territory between the Jamna and the Satlaj.	By negotiation with Ranjit Singh and the minor Sikh chiefs.	Delhi Division, with influence in the Cis-Satlaj States, which then included Ludhiana and Ferozepur Districts.
19	1816.	Province of Kumaun.	From Nepal.	Kumaun Division, U.P. Dehra Dun District.
20	1817-19.	(*a*) Sambalpur.	Bhonslê Raja.	(*a*) District Sambálpur, then given to a Raja, but annexed in 1853.
		(*b*) Ságar (Saugor) and Narbada Territories.	Bhonslê Raja.	(*b*) Ságar, Jabalpur, and Damoh Districts, and portions of Districts Narsinghpur and Hoshangabad.
		(*c*) Peshwa's Territories.	Deposition of Peshwa.	(*c*) Central, Northern, and Southern Divisions, Bombay Presidency.
		(*d*) Ajmir Province.	Ceded by Sindhia.	(*d*) Ajmir Province.

Serial Number. (See Map.)	*Date.*	*Name of Tract.*	*From whom acquired.*	*Modern Name of approximately corresponding Tract.*
21	1826.	Assam. Arakan. Tenasserim (including Martaban but not Rangoon).	Annexed after First Burmese War.	Assam. The Coast Districts of British Burma, except Rangoon and the delta of the Irawadi from the Salween to Bassein.
22	1834.	Coorg.	Raja of Coorg.	Province of Coorg.
23	1839.	Port of Karachi.	Amirs of Sindh.	Port of Karachi.
24	1843.	Sindh.	Conquest from the Amirs of Sindh.	Sindh Province (attached to the Bombay Presidency.)
25	1846.	Jullundur Doáb. Hazára.	From the Sikhs after the First Sikh War.	Jullundur Division, Hazára District.
26	1849.	The Panjab.	From the Sikhs after the Second Sikh War.	The rest of the Panjab, including the present North West Frontier Province.
27	1852.	Pegu.	Conquest and annexation from Burma, Second Burmese War.	The whole of the coastal tract of the Irawadi Delta, as far north as the districts of Thayetmyo and Toungoo.
28	1853.	Nagpur Territories.	Extinction of the Bhonslê family (Marathas), and lapse to British Government.	Central Provinces, to which 20 (*b*) was transferred from the North-West Provinces (now the United Provinces).
29	1853.	Assigned Districts.	Assigned by the Nizam for payment of the Haidarabad Contingent.	Berar (administered with the Central Provinces). Leased in perpetuity to Government of India in 1902. The Raichur Doáb and the Dhárásiv district were restored to the Nizam in 1860.

Serial Number. (See Map.)	*Date.*	*Name of Tract.*	*From whom acquired.*	*Modern Name of approximately corresponding Tract.*
30	1856.	**Oudh.**	Deposition of the King of Oudh.	Oudh.
31	1876.	**Quetta Territory.**	By negotiation with the Khan of Kalát.	British Baluchistan.
32	1886.	**Upper Burma.**	Annexation after deposition of King Theebaw ; Third Burmese War.	Upper Burma

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BRITISH AFRICA

I. THE EFFECT OF GEOGRAPHY ON THE HISTORY OF AFRICA

Introductory. The continent of Africa has always had a special fascination for the human mind. It has been essentially a land of mystery. The descriptions of it in Herodotus, the first of the world's historians, are symbolic of this, for they represent it as a land entirely different from any other land, and therefore intensely romantic and attractive. And in this light men have ever regarded it. Yet despite its abiding appeal, and although there was developed in it the Egyptian, one of the oldest of civilizations, it has been the last of the continents to be opened up to human enterprise. That, and its extraordinary rapid subsequent development, are problems confronting one at the outset. Geographical considerations help very considerably in their solution.

Firstly, the interior of Africa is extremely difficult of approach. Speaking generally, it forms one huge plateau, in the north averaging a height of about 1,500 feet, in the south about 3,000 feet, while the central portion of this southern plateau is as much as 5000 feet in average height. Now, at nearly every point the ascent to this plateau is a sharp one, and has on that account interposed a very considerable barrier to man's advance. This fact is also responsible for the non-navigability of the rivers, which in Europe or North America, for example, so considerably facilitate communi-

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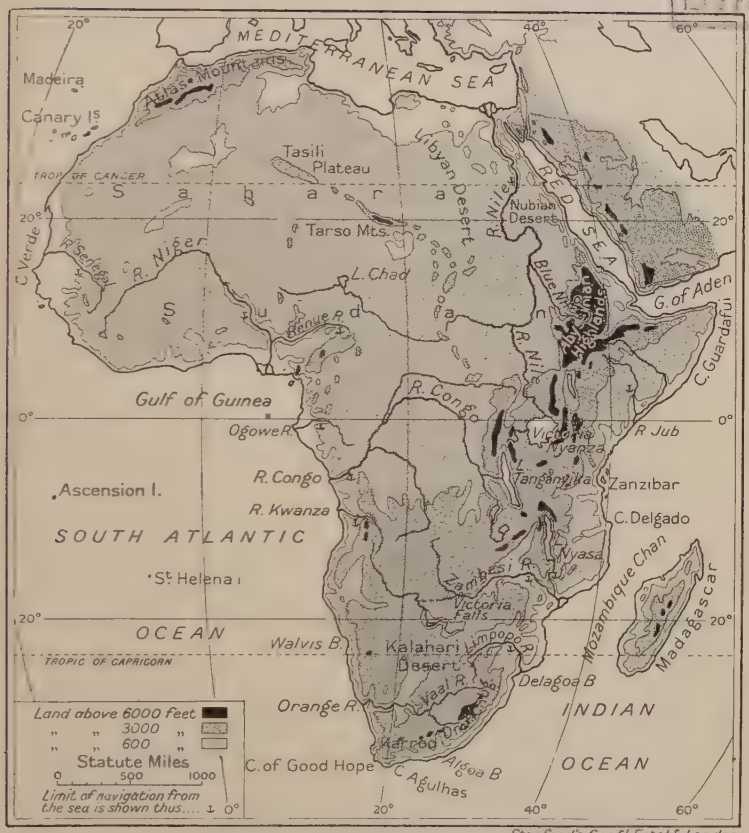


OROGRAPHICAL MAP OF AFRICA.

cation between coast and interior. The courses of nearly all the African rivers are interrupted by cataracts; scarcely more than ten are navigable for 100 miles from the sea. This defect might to some extent have been atoned for, had the coastline resembled that of Europe, with its many indentations and its magnificent approaches to the heart of the continent. But Africa has scarcely an indentation worthy of the name. Though thrice the size of Europe, its coast-line is considerably shorter.

Secondly, climatic conditions have impeded its development. Africa is essentially a tropical continent. Of its 11,500,000 square miles, only 4,000,000, much of which is desert, lie outside Cancer and Capricorn. This fact alone is a considerable barrier to European colonization. Throughout the tropical area the coast regions are infested with the deadly malaria, making a prolonged sojourn impossible for Europeans, and on the central plateau, but for some specially elevated regions, the intense heat saps the vitality of the ordinary European, and, coupled with other circumstances, impedes colonization—though not exploitation. Yet it is unfortunately just these less healthy tropical regions that are gifted with an abundant rainfall. Much of the healthier part of the continent, though possessing in many cases excellent soil, suffers from lack of moisture—a fact again to be explained by the relative positions of land and sea, and the resulting winds—with the effect that development requires the outlay of considerable capital, either to conserve water or to raise it from beneath the ground.

Thirdly, there is the effect of the continent's peculiarly central position, apparent from a glance at the map. In consequence of this, Africa has in the past been regarded as a half-way house to America or the East, not as a final goal of endeavour. This conception considerably retarded the advance of South Africa. West Africa suffered similarly, and the rest of the continent offered little inducement to the

trader or settler, whose eye was fixed on more easily won profits farther afield.

These are some of the reasons why Africa so long remained the Dark Continent, why as recently as 1883 scarce one-eleventh of it stood under European rule. But since then progress has been rapid, and to-day little remains unappropriated. The causes of this are partly political, but partly, too, the change has been made possible by the advancement of science, enabling man to win great triumphs over the difficulties wherewith geographical and other features have impeded the development of Africa.

II. THE BRITISH WEST AFRICAN POSSESSIONS

The Portuguese in Africa. The history of modern colonization begins with Prince Henry the Navigator, of the royal house of Portugal. Coming as he did at the beginning of Portugal's period of greatness (1420-1580), he first directed his countrymen's attention to the discovery of a sea-route to the Indies and the development of a commercial empire. And it was under his inspiration that the Portuguese mariners started on their gradual career of discovery down the west coast of Africa. In 1445, Dinis Diaz rounded Cape Verde, in 1484 Diego Cam discovered the Congo, in 1498 Vasco da Gama at last reached India, and by about 1520 Portugal was unquestioned mistress of all Africa's eastern and western coasts. It was long before her monopoly was seriously challenged, and in the interval the nature of the relation between Europe and West Africa had been settled—not to be altered for centuries. For Portugal was a small nation, too weak for schemes of land dominion, but intensely commercial. What mattered most was the trade of the Indies; West Africa was a mere half-way house, and it was therefore valuable only for the commodity commercially most remunerative; and—as the opening up of America by Spain had

created a market—that commodity was slaves. As early as 1508 negro slaves were introduced into the West Indies, and this element of trade soon overshadowed everything else. Portugal's rivals, when they appeared, did not hesitate to follow her example, and the history of West Africa is for long mainly a history of slavery.

The Slave Trade. But for an isolated voyage of William Hawkins in 1530-32, British enterprise in Africa begins after 1550. In the fifties we read of voyages of Wyndham, Lok, and Towerson, and in 1562 Sir John Hawkins, son of the original William, initiated the slave-trade as far as English ships were concerned. But Portugal retained her monopoly unshaken, till her incorporation with Spain (1580) led to the commencement of her commercial decay. Thereafter many rivals entered the field. Dutch, Danes, French, Brandenburgers, all followed the British, erecting establishments along the coast and pursuing the trade with ardour. For the most part operations were conducted by companies with charters. The first of the British companies received a patent from Elizabeth in 1588, but it and most of its successors were short-lived. The Royal African Company, founded in 1672, lasted, however, for eighty years, and for a considerably period, it had the Assiento, *i.e*—the contract to supply Spanish America with slaves.

It would be wrong to regard these West African posts as colonies in the modern sense, or to attempt to mark off British from French or Dutch territory. Scattered more or less at random along the coast, they were forts and factories and nothing more, built on soil that was recognized as belonging to the natives. West Africa was simply a sphere of British trade, not a part of the British dominions.

Such was the position down to the end of the eighteenth century, during which England played the leading part among its rivals in the slave-trade. It was the abolition movement, in which England was no less prominent, that

caused a change. The slave-trade disappeared, and for a long time the British possessions were important mainly for their usefulness in combating the trade of which they had once been the centres; forts and factories made way for settlements and colonies stretching far beyond the coast-regions, and West Africa entered on a slow but steady course of legitimate commercial development. In building up this new order, of which the settlement of *freed slaves* in the *colony* of Sierra Leone on *definitely ceded land* was significant, the British have again been prominent. As one of the features of the change has been the creation of definite territorial areas, it will be best to deal with each of those under British rule separately.

The Gambia. Most northerly of the British possessions this colony represents one of the earliest settlements. In 1618 one of the chartered companies erected a fort on the river. The trading facilities offered by the magnificent waterway attracted many other nations, notably the French, but the main volume of trade remained in British hands, and the Treaty of Versailles (1783) recognized British rights over the river. The abolition of slavery was naturally a severe blow, and the Gambia was all but abandoned, till in 1816 the new era of legitimate trade and definite colonial government began with the foundation of Bathurst, the present capital. The Gambia has at various times been governed from Sierra Leone, but in 1888 it was finally created a separate colony. Its area was at the same time considerably increased, for French advances necessitated the assumption of territorial rights to assure British command over the river.

The Anglo-French agreement of 1889 recognized the course of the river for 240 miles, with a narrow strip on either side as British territory.

Sierra Leone. Like the Gambia, Sierra Leone attracted British enterprise in the slave-trading days, but only to a limited extent. Its importance begins with the abolition

movement, its special connection with which has been mentioned. Founded in 1787, the colony was not at first successful, but by degrees matters improved. Originally the colony was administered by the Sierra Leone Company, one of whose officials was the father of Lord Macaulay, but in 1808 the Crown assumed the government. Thereafter the colony advanced steadily both in prosperity and extent. Here, too, French competition necessitated the assumption of control over surrounding territory to prevent the diversion of trade. This process, which commenced in 1861, has led to the creation of a dependency of 31,000 square miles. Recent progress has been rapid, thanks mainly to the construction of over 300 miles of railway. Yet, despite this growth, Sierra Leone's main value and importance lie in its magnificent harbour of Freetown, the only adequate natural harbour between Cape Verde and Fernando Po.

The Gold Coast. It was round this colony, or rather its coastline, that the earlier phase of West African development centred. Here as elsewhere the Portuguese were leaders till the seventeeth century, when English and Dutch ousted them. In 1618 the former founded the post of Cormantine, and in 1637 the Dutch captured the Portuguese stronghold of Elmina. Round these several other settlements grew up. In the wars between these two great commercial nations many of them changed hands, but right into the nineteenth century British and Dutch as well as Danish posts continued side by side. But in 1850 the British government, which had taken over the Gold Coast posts from the last of the old African companies in 1821, bought out the Danes, and twenty-two years later Elmina and the other remaining Dutch posts were also ceded. This helped to precipitate a conflict with the Ashantee kingdom in the interior, which ended with Sir Garnet Wolseley's capture of the capital, Coomassie (1874). The Ashantees, however, continued to give trouble, till at last their country was definitely annexed (1901); a protectorate

was then also proclaimed over the territories farther north, the British dependency being thus increased to 80,000 square miles. In the Gold Coast, as in Sierra Leone, the construction of railways, one of them to Coomassie, has brought immense advances in prosperity, and the colony's considerable resources, both mineral and agricultural, are now more easily tapped. But the lack of a satisfactory harbour is a serious handicap.

Nigeria. The Niger area has been very specially associated with British enterprise, and it is only fitting that it should have fallen mainly within the British sphere. For it was British explorers, beginning with Mungo Park in 1795 and ending with Lander's expedition of 1830, who first solved the mystery of the great river and traced its course. Yet the Niger area was very nearly lost. For when Germany in 1884 began the "scramble for Africa," and Dr. Nachtigall annexed Togoland and the Cameroons, he was only just anticipated in the Niger Delta by the British Consul Hewett; the French too have made strenuous efforts to secure the upper and middle waters of the river; and only the exertions of the National African Company have prevented their being more successful. It was this company, which as the Royal Niger Company, under charter received in 1886, administered most of modern Nigeria, ably upholding British interests, till in 1900 the imperial government assumed control, instituting the protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria. To the latter of these was added in 1906 the contiguous colony of Lagos, which had been established in 1861 to combat the slave-trade, of which it was a centre; and in 1912 the whole area, over 250,000 square miles in extent, was placed under a single government. The advance of Nigeria, both commercial and administrative, has been extraordinarily rapid. Peace and good government have been established over this vast area, and the splendid facilities for river communication, along with the construction of over 1,000 miles of railway, have

wrought great changes. The name of Sir F. Lugard should not be forgotten as prominent among the builders of this great tropical dependency.

British West Africa—*Summary.* We have seen by what steps Britain secured her West African dependencies. As a result her position is a very strong one. France perhaps possesses far larger slices of territory—yet the most valuable regions have remained in British hands. Gambia, with its splendid river—of such rivers Africa has few; Sierra Leone, with its great strategically and commercially important harbour; the Gold Coast, with its mineral resources and its extraordinarily productive soil; and Nigeria, with its river, less impeded by rapids than the three other great African rivers, and its vast hinterland—are all valuable possessions; and their value is increasing. One drawback, however, they all share. The West African coastline is the most unhealthy part even of unhealthy Africa, and, though science is doing great work in combating the ills of its fever-laden atmosphere, European colonization will probably never become possible. The West African dependencies will continue to lend themselves to exploitation, not to colonization.

III.—SOUTH AFRICA

Geography. The account already given of the geography of the continent holds in the main of its southern extremity. There is the same lofty interior plateau descending sharply coastwards, the same lack of navigable rivers, the same bold, unbroken coastline. Here, too, the central geographical position occupied has delayed development. Table Bay indeed early became the Tavern of the Seas, but for long it remained simply a halfway house to the wealth of the Indies.

Yet there is one important difference—climatic conditions do not hamper European settlement. Much of the sub-

continent lies outside the tropics, and while Rhodesia is entirely within the Torrid Zone vast tracts are sufficiently elevated to ensure a temperate climate, constituting one of the healthy upland regions previously mentioned. Hence most of Africa south of the Zambesi is at least potentially a white man's country. But unfortunately considerable areas, especially on the western side, lack the abundant rainfall of the unhealthy tropical regions.

The Natives of South Africa. The native races whom the Europeans found in South Africa were the Bushmen, the Hottentots, and the Bantu. The order is that of their arrival, for all were immigrants. Of the peoples antecedent to the Bushmen we know little. They themselves were a nomadic race of dwarfish savages, very low in the scale of development, incapable indeed, as it appeared, of existing in the presence of a higher civilization. Their hand was against every man, and the hand of every man against them—hence their almost complete disappearance. The Hottentots were a pastoral, somewhat more advanced race. Of unwarlike character, they gave little trouble to European settlers; and it was disease, in particular small-pox, rather than the rifle that broke their power. But the various Bantu tribes have proved much more formidable and therefore play a bigger part in history. An agricultural people, they came southwards after the Hottentots. They progressed slowly, and it was nearly the end of the eighteenth century when European and Bantu met, advancing in opposite directions, at the Fish River.

The First Europeans. Reference has already been made to the beginnings of African exploration and to Vasco da Gama's eastern voyage (1497-98). He was not, however, the first to round the Cape of Good Hope. That distinction belongs to Bartholomew Diaz, who commemorated his stormy voyage (1486-87) by naming the promontory the Cape of Storms. For more than a century the Portuguese mono-

polized their great discovery; yet while they developed a considerable power on the East African coast, even attempting to penetrate the interior, the unproductive and harbourless land south of Delagoa Bay did not attract them. Table Bay, since the murder of Francisco d'Almeida, the first Viceroy of the Indies, by the Hottentots (1510), they shunned. But in 1580 Portugal's decay commenced, and energetic rivals seized the opportunity. In that same year the first English ship, that of Drake, rounded the Cape; fifteen years later the Dutch, still fighting grandly against Spain for their liberties, despatched their first expedition to the East. In 1600 there was founded the English and two years later the Dutch East India Companies. The latter advanced the more rapidly—its energy and activity broke Portugal's power in the East, leaving it supreme only on the south-eastern coast of Africa.

Yet though Dutch and English ships, for the most part in friendly rivalry, rounded the Cape in ever-increasing numbers, making Table Bay a regular port of call, it was not till 1652 that the Dutch Company founded the first settlement. Thirty-two years earlier Captains Shillinge and Fitzherbert had taken possession of the Bay for James I., but England's ocean commerce was still small. North America was absorbing the nation's colonizing energies, and their action was not ratified.

It was as a refreshment-station for the ships on the long Eastern voyages that the first settlement was planted. In charge of it was placed Jan van Riebeek, who had for ten years served the company, first as surgeon, and then in more responsible capacities. He landed on April 7, 1652. The pioneering work proved to be arduous, but van Riebeek was able, adaptable, and optimistic. He laid the foundations truly and well.

The Cape under the Dutch East India Company. For 143 years the company retained possession of the Cape.

During those years the settlement grew to something much greater than a refreshment-station; yet, if we compare it with British North America, its growth was not rapid. And for two main reasons. Firstly, Holland was not a colonizing nation. Its population was small and, in these years of its greatness, very prosperous. Hence there was no surplus for colonial expansion. Even of those Cape settlers whom Holland sent out, many were Germans from across the border. And, secondly, it was not the Dutch government but a commercial company that controlled the settlement. Now, while a company may do great work in opening up a country, there is a stage at which its usefulness ceases—when the interests of the colonists cease to be compatible with the demands of the shareholders. So it was at the Cape. The company never intended it to be a colony—it was merely an outpost for the revictualling of ships, and it was only because the fresh provisions required for this purpose could be produced more economically by independent farmers that, on van Reibeek's representations, grants of land were first made (1657). That was the beginning of a colony in a real sense, yet the company's trade interests continued to be supreme. It had first claim on all products at a fixed price, and it prescribed definite conditions for the disposal even of the surplus. This monopoly of trade it retained to the last.

For these reasons development was slow. During the first fifty years, however, the directors made constant efforts to procure colonists, and the representations of the Governor, Simon van der Stel (1679-99), encouraged them in this policy. Most important of these bodies of settlers were the Huguenots, for some 150 of whom the Cape provided a refuge (1688-89) after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. With them they brought improved methods of cultivating the vine, and soon added greatly to the colony's prosperity. They quickly assimilated with other colonists of Dutch and German

descent, strongly leavening the blend. As a result the Dutch-speaking population of South Africa is of a very composite character. The Dutch element indeed predominates, but French and German characteristics are also prominent.

Expansion towards the Interior. In the eighteenth century systematic colonization from Holland practically ceased, accessions to the population consisting mainly of retired servants of the company. Yet the colony made vast strides territorially. The healthy coast-strip and the terraces by which the land rises to the plateau make the south the natural approach to the interior, and along this avenue the advance was begun. The company's monopolist policy did not encourage agriculture on an extended scale, and many turned instead to cattle-farming, roaming inland with their flocks, till checked by the almost waterless regions on the north and the Bantu on the east. Journeying with their flocks for many months, their home an ox-waggon, the Dutch farmers learnt to be self-reliant and independent of town-life, and there was thus developed the ever-prominent tendency to the "trek" that has made them so invaluable as pioneers. Mountain ranges and the unequal distribution of water divided them into much-scattered units, and while they thus became the forerunners of civilization over a vast area they themselves often seemed in danger of losing touch with it. Yet they never lost their solid qualities, and their abilities, even when latent for a while, always reasserted themselves. Thus, then, it was that in 1778 the Fish River came to be the colonial boundary, enclosing a territory of 80,000 square miles, and that in 1786 the town of Graaff Reinet, 400 miles from Cape Town, was founded. But the European population was in 1791 only 14,600, and little of this vast tract was actually occupied, so that the task of government became correspondingly difficult.

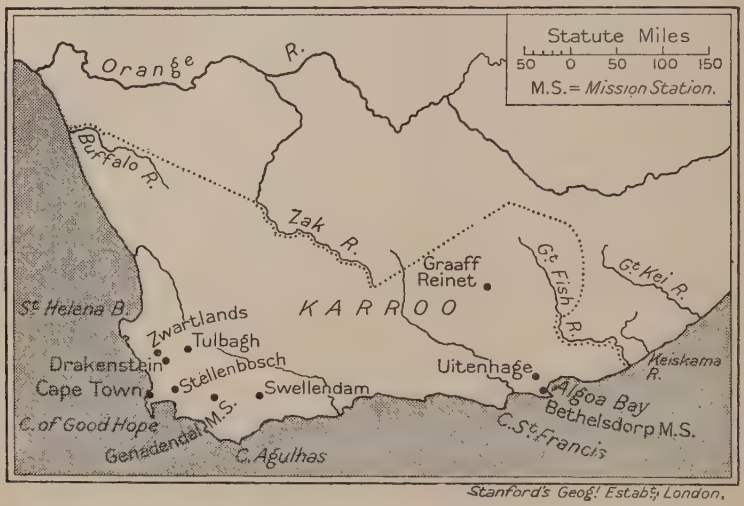
Downfall of the Dutch East India Company. As a matter of fact, the company had long since entered on

its decline. Holland's greatness ended with the seventeenth century, and the fortunes of the powerful company corresponded with those of the nation. Its rivals, English and French, increased in vigour, its system of administration became more and more corrupt, and its losses in war were considerable. At the Cape the wise administration of Rijk Tulbagh (1751-71) staved off the evil day, but after his death financial and administrative dissolution commenced. The directors failed to restrain the corrupt practices of their officials, and dissatisfaction among the colonists grew rapidly. In 1795 the interior was in open revolt.

It was at this stage that the British government, fearing the possibility of a French annexation, intervened. In September, 1795, an expedition under Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig, supported by a mandate from the exiled Prince of Orange, forced the colonial government to capitulate almost without a struggle, and the rule of the Dutch East India Company was ended. Eight years later (1803) the Peace of Amiens restored the colony, not to the company, but to Holland itself, then known as the Batavian Republic. The new administration promised well, but the resumption of hostilities in Europe occasioned the second British occupation. An attempt was made to resist, but the Battle of Blauwberg (1806) determined the issue, and the Cape has since been British. In 1814 the Netherlands acknowledged the transfer of sovereignty in consideration of an amount of 6 millions paid out under various heads by the British government on its behalf.

The Cape under British Rule. The first British administration was not an unqualified success. It started under favourable auspices. The Graaff Reinet disaffection continued, indeed, for a while, but hostile feelings were soon allayed, and for the rest the colonists accepted the new order readily, even eagerly. Yet the government, though never oppressive, failed to win the affections of the colonists

—on the frontier, indeed, its weak and vacillating native policy again aroused opposition—and its departure was not lamented. This failure, coupled with the success of the Batavian administration which followed, rendered the second occupation far less welcome. Yet an excellent beginning was made. The government was, indeed, despotic, and there were no popular representatives to exercise restraint—in the reaction from the spirit of the French Revolution



SOUTH AFRICA IN 1806.

that was natural enough—but the despotism was ably, even sympathetically, administered, and a generous policy of development pursued. Thus the number of centres possessing courts of law increased from six to twelve between 1806 and 1814, extensive public works were undertaken, and educational facilities improved. Opposition was therefore soon disarmed, and tranquillity and contentment prevailed. True, to the old colonists the government was a foreign one—but there can scarcely be two races to whose

assimilation there should be fewer hindrances than English and Dutch; for kinship in race, similarity in language and religion, and an equal attachment to liberty, ought all to have brought them together.

The Missionaries. Yet at an early stage cruel circumstance began to drive them apart. It is strange that the missionaries should have been largely responsible for this. The end of the eighteenth century saw the development of great evangelizing and philanthropic enthusiasm in Britain, and in 1799 the London Missionary Society's first representatives reached South Africa. The farmers welcomed them warmly, and yet there soon arose a bitter enmity. Missionaries have done magnificent work in South Africa—pioneering, civilizing, educational, spiritual—but, with all regret, one must admit that they were a powerful influence in the estrangement of Dutch and English. The reason was an irreconcilable difference in the attitude of farmers and missionaries on native questions. The missionaries started out, quite correctly, with the belief that all men are equal before God; but, while admitting that the natives were still in the position of children, they concluded from that belief that they should have the full political and social privileges of grown men. This conclusion the colonists, English as well as Dutch, rejected. Thenceforth, on every question of native administration the missionaries, supported by sympathetic public opinion in Britain, and the farmers took opposite sides. This conflict of ideas soon showed itself. The first instance was what came to be known as the "Black Circuit" (1812), when the missionaries brought serious charges of ill-treatment of natives against over fifty colonists. Most of the charges broke down, and the court severely censured the missionaries, but the seed of resentment was thus first sown, and subsequent events caused it to germinate.

Meanwhile, however, a more serious event took place

(1815). A frontier farmer, named Bezuidenhout, had refused to appear in answer to a charge of ill-treatment of a coloured servant. An officer with some Hottentot soldiers was sent to arrest him; he resisted, and was shot dead. The result was an attempted rising on the frontier. It came to nothing, and the ringleaders were sentenced to death. Though they had not actually fired a shot, the sentence was in perfect accord with both spirit and letter of the law of the time. Yet commutation would have been a politic act. But Lord Charles Somerset, who became Governor in 1814, lacked the tact and sympathy of his predecessors, and the men were executed at Slachter's Nek. As was inevitable, they became martyrs, and even to-day the memory of Slachter's Nek survives.

In other ways, too, Lord Charles's government marked a retrogression. An able man, and as keenly interested as his predecessors in developing the colony, he was far more autocratic than they, and he never became popular. In particular, his attempt to stifle the freedom of the Press (1825) roused both races against him, and his recall (1826) was hailed with delight. The foremost champions of the liberty of the Press were Messrs. Greig and Fairbairn.

British Emigration to South Africa. But meanwhile a very important event had taken place. Hitherto the colonists had been almost exclusively Dutch. Now, to relieve the distress prevailing in England in the reaction from the Napoleonic Wars, the Imperial government offered to convey to South Africa persons desirous of emigrating. The offer evoked enthusiasm, and nearly five thousand immigrants entered the colony in 1820-21, most of them settling on the eastern frontier round the modern town of Grahamstown. For some years their position was difficult, even precarious; not all proved suitable to the totally different conditions of their new home; but in time

the tide turned, and in developing the Cape Colony the "1820 Settlers" played a very honourable part.

This British immigration was the occasion for the inauguration of a policy that was to widen the breach. Hitherto the Government had retained the Dutch language and institutions; now, though six-sevenths of the population were Dutch-speaking, the Anglicization of the colony was definitely undertaken. In 1822 a proclamation was issued, in effect substituting English for Dutch as the official language; in 1828 the old system of judicial administration by means of "landdrosts" and representative "heemraden" was replaced by the English system of magistrates, and church and school were also used as instruments of Anglicization. These enactments aroused little open opposition, but the grievance took deep root, for the government had entirely miscalculated the strength of the people's attachment to their language.

The Emancipation of the Slaves. So far, then, while the British government had proved itself able and efficient, and while, but for the Slachter's Nek episode, there had been no disaffection, it had failed to promote that feeling of racial co-operation that seemed so natural. And the manner of effecting the emancipation of slaves (1834) did not restore confidence. As early as 1658 slaves had been imported into the colony, but the number had always been strictly limited, and none of the horrors of the American plantations were ever enacted. Indeed, their lot was as happy as anywhere in the world. Yet the great and necessary boon of emancipation could not on that account be withheld, when once men like Wilberforce had awakened the human conscience. In the colony itself the slaveholders repeatedly showed their willingness to accept the principle, and the Emancipation Act aroused no opposition. It was unfortunate that the method of execution was particularly unhappy. For while the Act provided for the

compensation of the owners, it subsequently transpired that only £1,200,000 was available for the Cape owners, who possessed slaves to the value of £3,000,000. In addition, all claims had to be proved *in London*, with the result, not only that the colony suffered a loss in property of almost 2 millions, but that most of the farmers, being forced to sell their claims to agents, received only a small fraction of the value of their slaves. To make matters worse, the missionaries secured the vetoing of a Vagrancy Ordinance, thus leaving the liberated slaves free to wander at will, not only unproductive, but a danger to life and property.

Difficulties with the Natives. Yet the dissatisfaction arising from this might in time have been allayed, but for certain events on the frontier. The Fish River was proclaimed the colonial boundary in 1778; yet it was not till 1812 that, after what is called the Fourth Kaffir War, colonial authority was definitely established over the area thus enclosed. But the Bantu were not prepared to accept this arrangement. In 1818-19 war broke out anew (Fifth Kaffir War), and, as a result, the boundary was advanced to the River Keiskama, though the strip between it and the Fish was intended to be left unoccupied. This policy failed. The natives, instead of returning to peaceful pursuits, continued to plunder the frontier farmers—even in a time of nominal peace 3,600 head of cattle were carried off in eighteen months—and at last, when their strength had been restored, they burst across the frontier, massacring, burning, and destroying (1834). In this one great raid the colonists sustained over £300,000 loss. The Governor of the day, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, proved equal to the occasion. Supported by large contingents of farmers, he repulsed the invaders, and advanced well into their country. Then, as a safeguard for the future, he decided to advance colonial territory to a more suitable frontier—the Kei. Sir Benjamin D'Urban's policy, in conception and detail, was eminently

wise; but the missionaries—or the particularly demonstrative section amongst them—proved too strong. They sought to represent the Europeans as aggressors in the war, and the natives as unjustly treated. Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, was naturally disposed to this way of thinking. In a despatch which offended all classes of colonists alike he declared that justice was with the Kaffirs, and ordered the restitution of the conquered territory (1835). To the Dutch frontier farmers, who had fought gallantly and suffered severely (for Lord Glenelg refused compensation) the loss of what appeared the last chance of getting security for life and property, coupled with what they considered the insulting tone of the despatch, was too much. The Glenelg despatch was immediately followed by the Great Trek.

The Great Trek. The Great Trek is one of the finest episodes in the history of pioneering. The origin of trekking has been mentioned; even before 1836 individual farmers had crossed the Orange, and assumed at least temporary occupation of lands, but this was the movement of a whole people. Over 5,000 in all, men, women, and children, "the flower of the frontier farmers," wrote the Governor, they moved forth to face the dangers of an unknown land, strong in their trust in God, and prepared for all emergencies. And though the division of the South African people marked by their movement was regrettable, their sufferings and achievements are a splendid legacy for the South African nation.

Though the trekkers left the country in more or less scattered companies, the movement was not an unorganized one, three commissions of investigation having been sent out in various directions (1834). In 1835 the first two parties left, passing through to the Limpopo, near which one was completely destroyed by natives, while the other, under Louis Trichardt, was almost exterminated by fever in

attempting to open a passage to the sea at Delagoa Bay. In 1836 the great mass of emigrants crossed the Orange.

The moment chosen was not inopportune. The beginning of the nineteenth century marks a period of almost incredible devastation of the Bantu. A Zulu, named Tshaka, had risen to the chieftainship, and succeeded in building up a magnificent army, wherewith he literally exterminated the tribes between the Drakensberg and the sea. At the same time one of his generals, Moselikatse, broke away from him, and similarly ravaged the inland regions between the Vaal and the Limpopo. Thus both Natal and the inland plateaux were all but depopulated, save for some scattered tribes and the ranging hordes of Zulu and Matabele, for thus Moselikatse's hosts were called.

Yet, while there was abundant vacant land, the emigrants did not win it without a struggle. Moselikatse left them no rest, massacring isolated parties, and driving off their cattle. They, however, took up the challenge. Several Matabele attacks were repulsed with great loss, and at last a force of 135 burghers administered such a defeat to Moselikatse that he retired north of the Limpopo (1837).

Settlement of Natal. But meanwhile attention had been turned from the bleak uplands to the fair land of Natal, then almost untenanted. As early as 1824 some Englishmen had indeed secured a concession from Tshaka, but government protection was declined, and only a few settlers were living where Durban now stands. Accordingly, Pieter Retief, the elected leader of the emigrants, negotiated with Dingaan, Tshaka's successor, for a cession of territory. At first Dingaan received Retief favourably, but after making the requested grant he treacherously murdered him with over sixty companions, and then burst upon those of the farmers who had followed him over the Drakensberg, cruelly massacring men, women, and children. For long the fortunes of the emigrants looked dark—especially when another of

their leaders, Pieter Uijs, was slain, together with his fifteen-year-old son, who had gallantly ridden to his aid; and Natal would have been abandoned had not the women scornfully rejected the idea. But the arrival of a new leader, Andries Pretorius, changed things. On December 16, 1838, a date since celebrated as Dingaan's Day, a great victory was won at Bloed River; then, assisted by a Zulu faction under Panda, Pretorius expelled Dingaan, and Zululand became a vassal-state of the Republic of Natal (1840), as capital of which the town of Pietermaritzburg was founded.

Thus the power of barbarism was broken on both sides of the Drakensberg, and the weaker tribes could breathe again.

The Republic of Natal was not an administrative success, nor was it long-lived. The British government indeed had continued to regard the immigrants as British subjects, but at first fear of increasing the burden of the empire kept it from definitely asserting its authority. Fear, however, of losing the Natal coast led to the despatch of a garrison to Durban in 1842. It was promptly besieged, but a magnificent nine-days' ride of Dick King to Grahamstown brought timely succour, and in 1843 Natal became a British colony. In consequence most of the farmers trekked back over the Drakensberg, some immediately, others with Pretorius in 1848.

The Orange Free State. The emigration of the farmers placed the imperial government in an awkward position. Unwilling to extend its responsibilities, it refused to free the emigrants from their allegiance. Recourse was therefore had to a series of expedients. First, in 1843, the attempt was made to erect a series of native treaty-states north of the colony. Moshesh, who had collected the dispossessed victims of Tshaka and Moselikatse to form the Basuto nation, and Adam Kok, headman of some 2,000 Griquas, were accordingly recognized as paramount over some vast stretches of country,

including much of that occupied by the immigrants who had not accompanied Retief to Natal. This arrangement broke down, and in 1845 a modification was introduced, whereby, while native sovereignty was retained, a British Resident was stationed at Bloemfontein midway between Orange and Vaal, as virtual administrator of the Europeans as far as the Vaal. At length, in 1848, Sir Harry Smith formally annexed this area. But though many of the farmers, with the deadening of the old sense of grievance, were not unwilling to accept the Queen's sovereignty, the annexation was not completed without a struggle. A battle was fought at Boomplaats (1848). The British were victorious, and their most energetic opponents joined the other emigrants across the Vaal.

The Orange River sovereignty was short-lived. Its government pursued an unwise policy towards the Basutos; in the resulting struggle two severe checks were sustained (1851-52), and the old non-aggressive policy again triumphed. The inhabitants protested vigorously against being left to face without British protection a triumphant enemy, for whose increased power British policy was largely responsible, but unavailingly. In 1854, by the Convention of Bloemfontein, the full independence of the Orange Free State was recognized.

The South African Republic. The emigrants beyond the Vaal had already obtained a similar formal recognition of independence, which had since 1836 existed in fact. The Sand River Convention, concluded in 1852 with Andries Pretorius, recognized the independent existence of the South African Republic.

Thus South African unity, political and national, had ceased to exist. The Trek had quadrupled the number of states; it had also evoked a Dutch as opposed to an English national feeling. The difficulties of securing racial conciliation were enormously increased.

Kaffir Wars and Territorial Expansion of Cape Colony. Lord Glenelg's policy left the Keiskama as the boundary of Cape Colony, but it forbade European settlement between that river and the Fish, and it left the frontier farmers at the mercy of native chiefs, with whom treaties were made as political equals of the Europeans. The system was foredoomed to failure—the chiefs lacked the authority, even where they possessed the will, to restrain their subjects; but Sir Benjamin D'Urban's protests merely led to his recall. Desperate efforts were made to patch up the Glenelg arrangements, but robberies and murders continued, and finally, in 1846, the storm burst. Again the colony was invaded; again great losses were suffered; there were blunders and military disasters; but at last, at the end of 1847, the chiefs submitted. According to the settlement carried out by Sir Harry Smith, D'Urban's lieutenant in 1834, and now himself governor, the region between Keiskama and Kei was annexed, not, indeed, to the Cape Colony, but to the British Crown, receiving the name of British Kaffraria.

At the same time the northern boundary of the colony was extended to the Orange River (1847).

But the chiefs' submission was only temporary. The distress caused by drought and the influence of a witch-doctor led to the Eighth Kaffir War (1850). The struggle was long and bitter—it was not till 1853 that the conquered territory was finally secured. It was during this war that there occurred the wreck of the transport *Birkenhead* (1852), when 350 soldiers went gallantly to their doom.

It was not, however, these defeats, but their own fanaticism, that broke the power of the Kaffirs. In 1857 a strange delusion came upon the people. They were told to destroy all their cattle and grain, and then on a certain day fresh stores would come down from heaven, and the white man be swept into the sea. The pathetic faith of the people had tragic consequences. Twenty-five thousand Kaffirs died of

starvation, and 100,000 were driven to seek subsistence outside their borders. Only the foresight of the governor, Sir George Grey, averted an even greater disaster.

In other ways Sir George Grey served the natives well. For he initiated the policy of civilization and improvement which he had already applied successfully in New Zealand. Schools and hospitals were established, roads were constructed and industry promoted, and steps taken to break the power of chiefs and witch-doctors. At the same time a large number of energetic and successful settlers, including many Germans, were placed in British Kaffraria.

Since Sir George Grey's governorship, advance has been steady but for one short period. In 1877 the Ninth Kaffir War broke out, and the disturbance spread over a considerable area, but development was hardly interrupted. In 1865 British Kaffraria became part of the Cape Colony, and thereafter colonial territory was gradually, and for the most part peaceably, advanced to the borders of Natal, the process being completed by the annexation of Pondoland (1894).

Constitutional Changes in Cape Colony. Meantime, the colony had advanced politically as well as territorially. The first mitigation of the despotic form of government was the creation of a council to advise the Governor (1825). It consisted of six members, three official and three nominated. But this could scarcely satisfy the colonists, and a series of petitions for representative institutions was despatched to London. These requests, however, were not granted; in 1833 the council of advice was indeed replaced by a legislative council with greater powers, but it was still not representative of the people. Not long after, however, the grant of self-government to municipalities marked a step in advance. Beyond this, the imperial authorities hesitated to go, because of the existence in the colony not only of two European races which had not yet coalesced, but of a large

native population. But in 1846 there came into power an imperial administration, which, in accordance with the tendency then prevalent, wished, where possible, to limit imperial responsibilities, and the preparation of a constitution was undertaken. There were many delays, but at last, in 1854, representative institutions were established.

During this interval a striking event had taken place, showing that the colonists had arrived at self-consciousness, and were determined no longer to have important matters settled without reference to them. In 1849 the attempt was made to settle convicts at the Cape, and a shipload actually reached Table Bay. The colonists acted with unanimity and vigour. They refused to have any communication with the vessel or to supply foodstuffs—and the government was forced to yield.

The grant of representative government was a liberal one. Two houses were created, consisting entirely of elected members, and the franchise was low; but the ministers continued to be imperial officials without responsibility to Parliament and not representing the people. Difficulties inevitably arose; and, save as a preparation for fuller responsibility, the system was a failure; for some time, indeed, the counter-agitation of the eastern colonists for the separation of the provinces hampered the reform movement, but at length full responsible institutions were introduced (1872), thus making the colony completely self-governing. Thenceforward the ministers were responsible to the people, holding office by will of the majority. The first Premier was Sir John Molteno.

Internal Development of Cape Colony. The prosperity of the colony was at this time (1836-72) advancing steadily if slowly. This slow growth was mainly due to climatic and geographical difficulties, the uncertain rainfall over vast areas, and the absence of navigable rivers with the consequent difficulty of communication. The emancipation of

slaves was also a great blow, causing a shortage of labour on the farms. Yet this shortage had at least one advantageous result—it made the farmers apply themselves to wool-growing, and so successfully that the wool-export rose from about £30,000 in 1836 to over £3,250,000 in 1872. It was mainly to meet this difficulty of the labour shortage that the government embarked on schemes of immigration —in 1844 and again in 1858. Over 10,000 immigrants of excellent quality were thus introduced from Britain, and smaller numbers came independently from Holland and Germany.

The other difficulty—that of communication—was also steadily minimized, by the construction, first of good roads, and later of railways, commencing in 1859. Harbour works were undertaken at the same time. Great improvements were also made in jurisdiction and administration, many new districts being formed, and in 1838 an improved educational policy was initiated.

So far the colony had been entirely agricultural, save for some copper-mining in the north-west from 1852 onwards. But the discovery of diamonds in 1867, coming after a period of drought and depression, caused a tremendous revolution, and at once accelerated its advance in prosperity. That discovery almost coincided with the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), and in a sense compensated for the consequent diversion of shipping from the Cape. Yet that fact was not altogether disadvantageous. South Africa was hence-forward no longer a stopping-place on the way to the East —it was a land to which men came for its own sake.

Natal (1843-72). Natal became a British possession in 1843. Two years later it was placed under a Lieutenant-Governor, subject to the Governor of the Cape. This status it retained till 1856, when it was separated, receiving a representative form of government, which, with some modifications, endured till in 1893 responsible institutions

were granted. Natal's advance was not as rapid as its fertile soil might have led one to expect. Two special factors hampered the growth of a European population—the large number of native immigrants, whose settlement had been permitted, and the immigration of Indians beginning in 1860, which tended to drive Europeans from many possible fields of employment. Hence Natal became a colony depending rather on commerce and the forwarding of goods to the interior than on agriculture. For the rest the principal industry was sugar-planting—it was for these plantations that the Indians were first introduced. In 1872 the European population was only 17,500, the exports amounting to over £600,000.

Attraction and Repulsion. The year 1854 marked the completion of the process of dismemberment. Thenceforward most South African history centres round a reconvergence of the disjointed parts.

The first attempt at reunion came in 1858, when Sir George Grey submitted to the imperial government a powerful plea for federation, outlining a scheme whereby, while each component part retained full liberty in local affairs, there should be a responsible central government for wider problems. This naturally meant the abandonment by the republics of their independence, but the moment was not inopportune. The Free State, though it faced its task with ability and courage, found it hard to resist the depredations of the able and unscrupulous Basuto chieftain from his mountain stronghold, and in that same year its legislature passed a resolution in favour of federation; had the Free State consented, the Transvaal would doubtless in time have followed. But the imperial authorities resolutely refused to countenance any increase of responsibilities.

Ten years later came the inevitable change of attitude. Unfortunately, however, the two events marking that change

were such as to strengthen the forces of repulsion, not of attraction.

The Free State had by this time acquired greater self-consciousness and strength, especially under the leadership of President Brand (1864-89), one of South Africa's greatest sons. When Moshesh again forced a struggle (1865) it was vigorously conducted, and the old chief all but crushed. At this stage (1868) the Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, proclaimed British sovereignty over Basutoland, in contravention of an article in the Bloemfontein Convention, claiming in so doing territory which Moshesh had previously ceded to the republic. Most of this was eventually abandoned, but not till much ill-feeling had been aroused.

The Discovery of Diamonds. The second annexation that marked the reversal of the old policy was a more flagrant violation of the Convention. Of the diamond deposits which began to be discovered in 1867, transforming the desert into a hive of industry, the most valuable lay between the Vaal and the Orange in a region desolate indeed and sparsely populated, but one to which the Free State claim was, on the evidence now available, almost incontestable. There was, however, another claimant, the chieftain of a few hundred Griquas, living 100 miles away. He placed himself under British protection, and in 1871 the Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, annexed the diamond fields, as Griqualand West. Ultimately, perhaps, the agricultural republic benefited by escaping the task of governing a mining population, but that was no justification. The state was convulsed with indignation, and only the president's moderation restrained the burghers from rushing upon a hopeless struggle. Eventually £90,000 was accepted as compensation. Griqualand West became part of the Cape Colony in 1880. The centre of the diamond industry is Kimberley.

Meanwhile disputes had also arisen about the diamond-

bearing area north of the Vaal, this time between the Transvaal Republic and various native tribes. Here arbitration was accepted, Governor Keate of Natal acting as final umpire. His Award was entirely against the republic, assigning to native tribes much that was undoubtedly republican territory, but on the evidence submitted it was thoroughly justifiable; for the Transvaal case was completely mismanaged.

New Proposal for Confederation. But to return. In the two above-mentioned instances of the new policy the Imperial government had been induced to act by its South African representatives, and they rather than it must bear the responsibility for the wrongs committed; in the next scene it acts on its own initiative. In 1875 Lord Carnarvon, the colonial secretary, resumed Sir George Grey's project. He proposed holding a conference of representatives of the states and colonies, which would, it was hoped, lead to a confederation. The project was by no means incapable of realization if pursued with patience and tact. In the Free State, it was true, recent events had strengthened separatist tendencies, but President Brand would probably in time have led his people towards union. And the Transvaal seemed even more likely to be compliant, if guaranteed freedom from interference in local matters. For that republic had fallen upon evil days. In creating a settled government it had met many difficulties. Scattered over a vast area, torn by jealousies and factions, disturbed by the unprincipled adventurers that always flock to the outskirts of civilization, the emigrants took long to institute a strong central government. Only in 1864 was the corner turned. But ten years later the old weakness showed itself. The President, Mr. Burgers, was an able man, but he failed to command the confidence of his people, and the government broke down completely, both financially and in its conflicts with native tribes. In consequence to an

increasing number the acceptance of British sovereignty seemed inevitable.

But if the circumstances favoured Lord Carnarvon, he made poor use of them. His failure was due firstly to his tactlessness in seeking to impose his views on the Cape Colony without reference to its responsible ministers, and secondly to his impatience. The Cape refused the invitation to the conference, and thus impeded his plans, but he would brook no delay. On April 12, 1877, Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexed the Transvaal. This ill-advised breach of the Sand River Convention was a tragic blunder. With a little patience and sympathy, the same end might have been attained at the request of the inhabitants. Instead, it was forced upon them, and opposition inevitably aroused. They protested, but unavailingly, for Carnarvon and the Governor of the Cape, Sir Bartle Frere, were determined on the policy of making all South Africa British.

Rorke's Drift and Majuba. One effect of the annexation was to arouse hostility among the *Zulus*, then under Ketshwayo. He became increasingly restive till in 1879 Sir Bartle Frere despatched British troops against him. The campaign began with a great disaster at Isandhlwana, where 800 British soldiers fell, for which, however, the gallant defence of Rorke's Drift by 96 men against 3,000 *Zulus* partially atoned; and at length, after hard fighting, the *Zulu* power was broken by Lord Chelmsford at Ulundi.

The disaster at Isandhlwana encouraged the Transvaalers in their resistance. Their protests became increasingly unanimous, and at length they took up arms. The campaign was short and sharp; it ended with the British defeat at Majuba Hill, on the Transvaal-Natal border (1881). The defeat was not decisive, but it led to the end of the war. Mr. Gladstone's government wisely decided to reverse the Carnarvon policy, and the Convention of Pretoria restored Transvaal's independence. But neither

that Convention, nor the more liberal Convention of London (1884), could undo the evil wrought by the annexation. That event had forced English and Dutch throughout South Africa into two opposing camps, and the forces of repulsion and separatism had won what seemed a final triumph; the only effect of Carnarvon's desire to bridge the gulf of political division had been to create a deeper gulf of racial divison.

The Africander Bond. The departure with the Trekkers of the most vigorous and demonstrative of the Dutch-speaking colonists left the remnant for long mute and expressionless. Accordingly, when parliamentary institutions were established they signified nothing to most of them, and little trouble was taken to secure suitable representatives. But the decade beginning in 1870 saw a stirring in the dry bones—a political awakening of the Dutch-speaking people.

In these circumstances the events in the Transvaal, following on the annexations of 1868 and 1871, could have but one result. There swept through the colony a strong wave of separatist, anti-English, purely Dutch nationalism; and an organization, the Africander Bond, inspired with the ideal, a United South Africa under its own flag, made rapid progress. The dangers which thus threatened were, however, averted by the wisdom of Mr. Jan Hofmeyr, who had become prominent in the political awakening of the Dutch-speaking people. Conceiving as the correct policy for South Africa racial co-operation as well as political union, he threw himself into the Bond movement—but in order to win it for his views. He succeeded, and under his leadership it kept in existence that ideal of racial co-operation which in those dark days had almost disappeared. The awakening of the Dutch-speaking people gave it great political power, and, as its parliamentary leader, Hofmeyr, though never premier, could hold the balance between

parties, and practically shaped the colony's policy till the end of the century.

The Bond's policy was at first one of co-operation with the Transvaal. This was evidenced in 1884, when disputes arose with regard to the territory west of the republic, into which some of its burghers had trekked. The Bond desired joint development by colony and republic, but the imperial government, scared perhaps by the German annexation of South-West Africa, was prevailed upon to interfere. An expedition under Sir Charles Warren was despatched, and the vast area of Bechuanaland annexed (1885). The southern part was attached to Cape Colony in 1895.

This Bechuanaland incident is important in another way It evoked the first clear expression of the feeling that such direct imperial action was inconsistent with colonial self-government. In 1883 the Cape had ceded Basutoland to the imperial government owing to difficulties of administration, and now imperial interference was again invited. Many colonists therefore protested, for the moment unavailingly, but the doctrine of colonial autonomy thus enunciated gradually won acceptance.

In the Bechuanaland episode the Bond had desired co-operation with the Transvaal. But in time an incompatibility of ideals appeared. In the republic there was no influence to mitigate the hostility aroused by the annexation. Under President Kruger (elected 1883) the ideals of the Trekkers, of whom he was one, again prevailed. These meant isolation from all that was British, and the Cape Colonists, who accepted the British connection, were also under the ban. Instead of co-operating with them he sought to create a self-dependent state, communicating with the outside world through the Portuguese port, Delagoa Bay. Accordingly, when in 1888-89 the Cape government, supported by the Free State, presented a scheme for a customs union as a possible first step to political union

and for railway intercommunication, the Transvaal refused, and rebuffed the Bond leaders. The result of the divergence of ideals thus manifested was an alliance between Hofmeyr and Rhodes.

Rhodes and Kruger. Cecil Rhodes had amassed a vast fortune at the diamond fields, and then entered Parliament. Representative in many ways of the best type of English South African, he, too, realized the necessity for racial co-operation; his sympathies predisposed him to friendship with the Bond; he supported it in demanding what he called "the elimination of the imperial factor"—*i.e.*, the element of direct imperial action; and his personal friendship with Hofmeyr ripened into political alliance. In 1890 Rhodes became Premier with the support of Hofmeyr. The alliance typified the rediscovery of the ideal shattered in 1877, and in the Cape national unity progressed rapidly. In this broad policy the Free State joined. In material prosperity there was a corresponding advance. Railways were spanning the sub-continent—the Transvaal was reached in 1892—and trade and agriculture being developed. All again promised favourably—but for one danger-spot, the Transvaal.

Kruger's hostility to Britain had increased rather than diminished. He had hoped to expand his state, but he was cut off, first in the west, as above described, then by Rhodes in Matabeleland (1888), and finally in the east his way to the sea was blocked by the annexations of Zululand (1886) and Amatongaland (1895). Meanwhile (1886) came the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand. The town of Johannesburg sprang up like a mushroom, and the "Uitlanders" soon outnumbered the Transvaal burghers. Confined as he had been within strict limits, Kruger resolved there at least to be supreme. He therefore made every effort to exclude these alien immigrants from the franchise—and again the horizon darkened

Yet even in the Transvaal the position was hopeful. There was a strong party of reform among the burghers, which at the next presidential election seemed certain to triumph. Then the Transvaal would fall into line with Cape and Free State, and all would be well. The Jameson Raid shattered these fair prospects.

Expansion to the Zambesi. The annexation of Bechuanaland had opened the way to the region between the Limpopo and the Zambesi, then ruled by the Matabele king, Lobengula, son of Moselikatse. To it British, Germans, Portuguese, and Transvaalers were all directing their attention, and it was only just in time that Lobengula was induced to sign the Moffat Treaty (February, 1888), whereby his country virtually passed within the British sphere of influence. For the negotiation of this treaty Rhodes was mainly responsible, and it was the British South Africa Company formed by him that undertook the development of these regions; his alliance with Hofmeyr assured him of Cape Colony support, and thus made the enterprise possible. The company, which had secured a mining concession from Lobengula, received a charter in 1889, and next year despatched a pioneer column to Mashonaland, the eastern portion of the king's dominions. This, however, occasioned difficulties with the Portuguese, and collisions ensued, but disputes were settled by an Anglo-Portuguese Convention in 1891. Trouble also threatened from a proposed trek of Transvaal burghers into Mashonaland, but the danger was averted.

Nyasaland and Rhodesia. Meanwhile there had been progress from another side. In 1876 the African Lakes Company had commenced, though somewhat feebly, the development of the region about Lake Nyasa. Here, too, there was Portuguese rivalry to encounter, and Sir Harry Johnston was only just in time (1889-90) in declaring a British Protectorate over a considerable region west of the lake. The Convention above mentioned acknowledged the

Public

protectorate, and freedom was also secured to develop westwards over the vast area between the Zambesi and the Congo State. Thus some 350,000 square miles were added to the British sphere, as well as the 150,000 south of the Zambesi. Of this area the country immediately bordering on the lake, 40,000 square miles in extent, much of it a lofty plateau not unsuitable for settlement by European planters, became the British Central Africa Protectorate, and under wise government has advanced rapidly; the rest was entrusted to the British South Africa Company.

With its work of development north and south of the Zambesi the Company made steady progress, despite many hindrances. In 1893 a Matabele War broke out, resulting in the destruction of Matabele power. Three years later, when the country was denuded of troops for the Jameson Raid, the Matabele again challenged a conflict, and the position became critical. But the company prevailed, the war ending by Mr. Rhodes entering the camp of the Matabele unarmed, and by his courage and the force of his personality winning their submission. Next year (1897) the railway from Cape Town reached Buluwayo, Lobengula's former capital, and the country's prosperity advanced rapidly. But the war of 1899-1902 retarded development, and Rhodesia shared in the economic depression that followed. Since 1907, however, progress has been accelerated. The wealth of the country in gold and other minerals is considerable and the lofty Mashonaland plateau is eminently suitable for European colonization. The European population has increased rapidly since that date to over 30,000.

The region north of the Zambesi has advanced correspondingly, for, though not colonizable, it admits of considerable industrial development. The railway (part of Rhodes's Cape to Cairo scheme) has passed right through into the Belgian Congo, its present railhead being 2,470 miles from Cape Town. Formerly divided into two portions, the country

has since 1911 formed the single province of Northern Rhodesia. Its union with Southern Rhodesia is now under discussion. Both provinces are still administered by the company; but Southern Rhodesia has a legislature, consisting of elected as well as official members.

The Jameson Raid. On December 29, 1895, Dr. Jameson, Administrator of Rhodesia, crossed the Transvaal border with 500 troopers and rode for Johannesburg. This action was part of a plot concerted between Rhodes and the Uitlanders, to support a rising in Johannesburg. Allured by the prospect of destroying the main obstacle to the high ideal of Union, Rhodes had consented to this disastrous expedient. At the last moment, however, the Uitlanders weakened, and Jameson was directed to postpone his invasion. He declined to do so; he hoped that his presence would rouse the Johannesburgers; and he very nearly succeeded. His force was surrounded and captured at Doornkop, twenty miles from Johannesburg. He and his officers were handed over to Britain for punishment; the Uitlander leaders were punished in the republic. Four were condemned to death, but their sentence was commuted.

The Breach Widens. After the Raid the trend of events set irresistibly towards war. At the Cape, the Hofmeyr-Rhodes alliance snapped immediately, and Dutch and English were gradually forced into fierce political strife. In the Transvaal the effect was similar. The Uitlander grievances, political and economic, and the chief of them being the restriction of the franchise, were in many cases indubitable. It would only have been ordinary wisdom, quite apart from its justice, for President Kruger to have attempted redress. But he found it hard to make concessions to men detected in conspiracy, especially when such concessions meant abandoning a cherished ideal. And indeed he believed that concessions would be useless. He suspected —and there were many who believed that he had grounds

for suspicion—that the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, had been in the plot, and concluded that Britain was determined in any case to deprive the republic of its independence; and so, as the Raid had once again united the burghers in support of the President and his ideals, preparations for the struggle were commenced.

Matters came to a head in 1899. At the beginning of that year Mr. Chamberlain and the Governor of the Cape, Sir Alfred Milner, appear to have decided that the Transvaal must be humbled, if necessary by war. At that stage indeed war was perhaps inevitable, yet it is unfortunate that Britain had no better case than the desire to secure reforms in the Transvaal's internal administration, military intervention for which end was almost certainly a breach of the Convention. First, however, there was a period of negotiation beginning with a conference at Bloemfontein between Kruger and Milner (May, 1899). The Transvaal offered a series of concessions in regard to the franchise, for the most part blunderingly and too late; Mr. Chamberlain accepted them eagerly, but unwisely always putting some fresh demand, till at last, on October 11, 1899, war commenced. With the Transvaal went the Free State under an offensive-defensive alliance concluded in 1897.

Thus the two republics with perhaps 65,000 burghers confronted the whole strength of the British Empire. These last words are used advisedly, for one of the war's most striking features was the support the Dominions rendered to Britain. In all they sent 30,000 men to South Africa.

The South African War, 1899-1902. The war began with an invasion of Cape Colony and Natal. In the former Kimberley and Mafeking were besieged, in the latter Ladysmith, but Republican forces penetrated much farther. It was round the attempt to relieve these towns that most of the interest at first centred. In the effort the British sustained two very severe defeats almost simultaneously,

at Magersfontein in the West, and at Colenso in the East, while another reverse was sustained within the same "Black Week" at Stormberg in the Northern Cape Colony (December 1899). In January another attempt to relieve Ladysmith ended in disaster at Spion Kop.

But by that time Lord Roberts had assumed chief command, and the tide turned. Kimberley was relieved on February 15, and on February 27, the anniversary of Majuba, a Republican force of 4,000 under Cronje surrendered at Paardeberg, Generals Kitchener and French being mainly instrumental. On that same day General Buller's renewed attempt to relieve the heroic garrison of Ladysmith under Sir George White led to the abandonment of the siege.

The result was something like demoralization in the Republican forces. In March Bloemfontein was entered, and after a magnificently executed march Lord Roberts reached Pretoria on June 5, Mafeking having already been relieved after a siege of 217 days. The annexation of the Free State had been proclaimed in May; that of the Transvaal followed in September.

Yet the end was far distant Considerable burgher forces still kept the field, and under the wonderful guerrilla leadership of Generals Botha and De la Rey in the Transvaal, and De Wet in the Free State—inspired too by the splendid courage and devotion of President Steyn of the Free State, who shared every danger with its burghers—the struggle was maintained. Mobile and elusive, they evaded trap after trap, administering many a telling blow. The Cape Colony was also again invaded by General Smuts and others, who were joined by some thousands of the Colonists, though the rising never became as general as they hoped. But by degrees Lord Kitchener, Lord Roberts's successor, wore down resistance, and on May 31, 1902, peace was restored to a devastated land, British sovereignty being accepted by the leaders of the 20,000 burghers still in the field. The war

had cost Britain over £220,000,000 in money, and 22,000 lives. At its close there were 250,000 men under Kitchener's command.

Reconstruction after the War. The recovery of South Africa, material and political, from the devastations of war was a most remarkable phenomenon. Materially the republics had suffered most, but they also recovered soonest. The appointment of Lord Milner to govern the conquered Republics (1901) perhaps impeded reconciliation, for the people considered him their bitterest foe—but except for inevitable mistakes, the work of reconstruction was splendidly conceived and executed. When he resigned in 1905, farms and villages had been rebuilt, thousands of families re-established in them, many miles of railways laid down, and the mines restored to working order. To secure this last the importation of indentured Chinese labourers was sanctioned, a measure which aroused much criticism, and was subsequently cancelled.

The political recovery, the healing of the many racial sores caused by three bitter years, was a harder task. Yet, thanks to wise statesmanship both in South Africa and England, progress was rapid. In the Cape Colony feeling was perhaps most bitter. An attempt was made (1902) with Lord Milner's support to secure the suspension of the Constitution, in order to assure British political ascendancy; but with the help of the other colonies it was defeated. For long the party struggle was severe. But on the one hand Mr. Hofmeyr, who now again enunciated the policy of racial co-operation, was a moderating influence, and on the other Dr. Jameson, who became Premier in 1904, acted with wisdom and tact.

In the Transvaal the former military leaders, notably Botha and Smuts, assumed political leadership of the Dutch-speaking people. Frankly accepting the British connection, and yet stalwartly resisting any attempt to denationalize

their people, they displayed wise statesmanship, which was rewarded by the generous grant of responsible government made by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's government in 1906. A similar grant was made to the Orange Free State (then called Orange River Colony) a year later. General Botha and Mr. Fischer became the first Premiers. To many the confidence shown in England's late enemies seemed risky, though results have abundantly justified it and its first effect was to hasten racial co-operation and thus facilitate the attainment of political union.

The Union of South Africa. The disadvantages of having four self-governing colonies within an area geographically one were becoming increasingly apparent. Native disturbances in Natal in 1906-7 revealed the desirability of securing a uniform native policy, and in other matters—questions of customs, tariffs, railway policy, judicial administration, defence, etc.—the need was equally evident. Lord Selborne, Lord Milner's successor, did much to encourage the movement.

In October, 1908, a National Convention of representatives of the four Colonies and of Rhodesia met at Durban. At it were present former Republican leaders like Steyn, Botha, De Wet, along with men like Jameson, yet remarkable unanimity prevailed, auguring well for the future. Characteristic of this were the unanimous acceptance of full equality of the Dutch and English languages and the restoration of the old name of Orange Free State. A draft Constitution was prepared, which after some amendment was submitted to the Imperial Parliament, and on May 31, 1910, the four colonies became provinces of the Union of South Africa. General Botha became the first Premier, and Lord Gladstone the first Governor-General.

The Constitution of the Union rests on a Unitary, not a Federal basis. Its central legislature has absolute supremacy, and though the provinces have Provincial Councils, these

possess merely delegated powers. The central legislature consists of a Senate of forty members, eight for each of the provinces, and eight nominated by the Governor-General in Council, and a House of Assembly, increasing in membership from 121 to 150 with the increase of population, provision being made for the regular redistribution of constituencies. Each province retains its former colonial franchise regulations, with the result that the franchise is in practice enjoyed by natives only in the Cape Province. The administrative capital is Pretoria, the legislative Cape Town. Provision is made for the subsequent admission of Rhodesia to the Union and for the transfer of the native territories, now directly under the Crown, namely, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland.

Problems and Aspirations. South Africa's most pressing problem is still the relation between the European races. As in Canada, the population is not exclusively British, and in South Africa there is the additional complication that there are no approximate lines of territorial demarcation between the races. Round this problem most South African history has centred, and it still hampers the settlement of other, sometimes more important, questions. Union came very near solving it, but though improvement has been considerable, the hopes then aroused have not entirely been fulfilled. For the process of promoting co-operation has been made too rapid, inadequate consideration has been shown for sectional prejudices and traditions, with the result that separatist ideals have re-emerged, thus delaying the desired consummation. The solution seems destined to be a gradual one, for the prerequisite to the establishment of an indivisible South African national feeling is the full development of the national feeling of each component part, leading up to a full mutual acceptance by each of the traditions and aspirations of the other.

Of yet greater importance is the native problem. Four-

BELGIAN CONGO
L Tanganyika
EAST AFRICA
(British Mandate)
Tshilongo
PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA
Zambesi R.
R Kafue
Broken Hill
NORTHERN RHODESIA
NYASALAND
Blantyre
R
Victoria Falls
Zambesi
Salisbury
MASHONALAND
SOUTHERN
MATABELELAND
Bulawayo
RHODESIA
SOUTH WEST AFRICA
EAST AFRICA
15°
20°
25°
30°
35°
10°
15°
20°

SOUTH AFRICA TO-DAY.

fifths of the six millions composing the Union's population are natives, and they increase four times as fast as the whites; in South Africa the coming of the white has not caused the extermination of the black—instead it has checked such self-extermination as that initiated by Tschaka. South Africa is still feeling towards a solution of this great problem. This solution will probably start from a recognition that the native is still in the position of a child—as such he is a sacred trust to the European, who must give him protection as long as necessary, with a view to his developing his powers. When he has thus attained the full qualifications for citizenship, he must be offered its full privileges and responsibilities. At present the immediate question is that of "segregating" the native as much as possible from European contact. The difficulties are enormous, yet the problem seems a necessary part of the policy of protection.

Another racial problem is that of the Indians. Natal, we have seen, imported indentured Indian labour, with the result that in that province Indians outnumber whites, owning two-thirds of the stores. As a result the country has set its face against Indian immigration, and the consequent difficulties have not yet received final solution.

One remedy for the smallness of the European population above mentioned is of course immigration, and this is indeed one of the country's greatest needs. Yet there are special difficulties. South Africa has no busy industrial life to absorb labour, and for success in agriculture capital is almost indispensable. Hence South Africa has been receiving no streams of immigrants as have Canada and Australia. Indeed, its attention is fully occupied with the reclamation of a poor white class created by the presence of a native population and the inadequate educational facilities of the past.

The part played by geographical difficulties in retarding South Africa's development, and that of its mineral wealth in accelerating it, have been mentioned. It is still on its mineral resources, notably gold, that its prosperity mainly depends—and the continuance of the gold supply is by no means assured. Yet the wealth of the mines is making it possible to overcome the geographical difficulties. Railways are destroying barriers to intercommunication (the Union, including the South-West Protectorate, has over 11,000 miles in operation), and irrigation and agricultural science are combating the shortage and uncertainty of rainfall. In consequence agricultural exports are increasing, and in time agricultural prosperity will provide the basis for industrial growth. But at present outside Johannesburg, where in 1913-14 serious labour troubles occurred, the industrial population is small, and the labour party correspondingly weak.

What, finally, of South Africa's relation to the Empire? Recent events have shown that a considerable majority of both races accept the British connection and the incident responsibilities. During the Great War South Africa sent 76,000 men to German South-West Africa, 30,000 to East Africa, and 26,000 overseas—a considerable achievement considering the smallness of the white population of the Union. Yet more than half the people are not of British descent, and have, therefore, no sentimental attachment to England or the Empire. They accept the present position as advantageous to themselves and the world as a whole, but their attitude will always be more critical and less ardent than that of a purely British community. For them therefore schemes of political federation, restricting colonial autonomy, have no attraction—they regard freedom as the chief basis of empire.

IV. BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN EAST AFRICA

Zanzibar. In East as in West, Portugal introduced Europe to Africa; here, however, it was the Arabs, not European rivals, who succeeded to the Portuguese monopoly. Indeed, it was only well on in the nineteenth century that Britain's active interest in East Africa began. The main motive for this interest was the suppression of the slave-trade. With this aim pressure was exerted on the Sultan of the dominant Arab state of Zanzibar, and an Agent maintained at his court. British influence advanced rapidly, yet no attempt was made to secure territorial rights, even after the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) gave new importance to the East African coast. A concession secured in 1878 from the Sultan was allowed to lapse for lack of government support, and it was left for Germany to take the lead in territorial acquisition in East Africa.

In 1884 the Society for German Colonization, as represented by Dr. Karl Peters, began making treaties with the mainland chiefs. Next year the German Emperor granted the society the equivalent of a charter. Meanwhile, however, similar treaties had been negotiated by Englishmen, notably Sir Harry Johnston, and as the exact nature of the Sultan's rights over the mainland was in dispute commissioners were appointed to determine the position. The result was an agreement (1886) restricting the Sultan's dominions to a coast-strip ten miles broad, and delimiting British and German spheres of influence in the interior. The arrangement was much to the advantage of the latter power, for it secured territory north as well as south of the British sphere.

In 1890, however, a new agreement was concluded. In return for the cession of Heligoland, Germany withdrew from this northern strip, more definite arrangements being

also made as to the frontier-line in the far interior. A British protectorate over the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba was also recognized, and Britain thus secured full command of a valuable harbour and cable-station. This protectorate still remains an important link in the British Empire. One other result of the agreement must be noted. By it Uganda and most of the northern lake region were recognized as falling within the British sphere. As it proved, these territories were secured only just in time, for Dr. Peters was already on the spot, seeking to establish German influence.

British East Africa and Uganda. The development of the British sphere as marked out in 1886 had been assigned to the British East Africa company, which had leased the Sultan's corresponding coast-strip and secured a charter in 1888. This Company, represented by Captain (now Sir F.) Lugard, also took the initiative in Uganda. The position there proved to be full of difficulties, mainly because of disputes between the religious factions—Mohammedan, Catholic or pro-French, and Protestant or pro-English. Yet Lugard had advanced considerably towards triumphing over these difficulties, when in 1892 the Company, disappointed in its anticipations of government support, decided to withdraw from Uganda. Complete abandonment was, however, deemed inadvisable, and, after a transition period, the Imperial government proclaimed a British Protectorate (1894). Next year an arrangement was made with the Company with regard to the regions nearer the coast first developed by it, and in 1896 the East Africa Protectorate was definitely proclaimed.

The latter protectorate has advanced steadily, if slowly. In 1898-1903 a railway was constructed from Mombasa to Lake Victoria, 584 miles in length, and various branch lines have since been added. Thus not only was the problem of transport solved, but the country was opened up for settle-

ment. For in the Protectorate the Empire possesses another of Africa's healthy upland regions; on its elevated plateaux, between 5,000 and 8,000 feet above sea-level, about 6,000 Europeans, many of whom emigrated from South Africa after the war of 1899-1902, have already made their homes, and in part, at least, the colony seems destined to become a white man's country. Its area is 247,000 square miles.

The Uganda Protectorate had a somewhat more chequered history, for disturbances continued for several years after its proclamation, but since 1900 the country has advanced peacefully. The railway in East Africa has brought Uganda into communication with the world, and more recently a line of 61 miles, from Lake Victoria northwards, has been constructed in Uganda itself. This has given great impetus to cotton-growing, and in this product, along with coffee and rubber, as well as the control of the lakes, lies the value of Uganda. Unlike British East Africa, it seems destined for some time at least, to remain a black man's land, for the lower altitude means a much less healthy climate. The area amounts to 118,000 square miles.

British Somaliland. This, the remaining British possession on the eastern coast, was secured from Egypt in 1884; it has little importance, save strategically. But for a brief spell (1902-05) when the incursions of an elusive Mullah attracted attention to it, its history has been uneventful. Its area is 69,000 square miles.

V. EGYPT AND THE SUDAN

Though Egypt became a British Protectorate only in 1914, its connection with the Empire has long been an intimate one. This was occasioned in the first instance by the extravagance of the Khedive Ismail, who in thirteen years

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POLITICAL MAP OF AFRICA.

increased the public debt by £90,000,000. At last his financial difficulties were such that in 1876 the Powers, representing the bondholders, notably England and France, appointed officials to supervise the financial administration, and three years later persuaded the Sultan of Turkey, his suzerain, to depose the recalcitrant Ismail in favour of his son Tewfik. For a while things went well, but in 1882 there was an explosion. A movement, in origin military and anti-Turkish, developed a Nationalist and anti-European colour and threw the country into confusion. This led to military intervention. France, which had hitherto been foremost in urging forceful measures, drew back at the last moment, Turkey prevaricated, and England therefore undertook the task alone. The bombardment of Alexandria and the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir (1882) brought the campaign to a rapid close. Egypt was, however, not annexed—it remained under Turkish suzerainty, but the British Government, to prevent a relapse into anarchy, retained an army in the country, and through its Consul-General assumed a controlling influence in the administration.

But meanwhile a serious revolt under a religious leader, the Mahdi, had occurred in Egypt's Sudanese dominions, and it was decided to withdraw the Egyptian army of occupation. The Khedive, with the British government's approval, assigned the task to General Gordon. The result was disastrous. Gordon, who was pre-eminent for qualities of heart rather than of head, was partly responsible, but the main blame lies with Mr. Gladstone's government for failing to support him, and unduly delaying the despatch of the relief expedition. Gordon was caught in Khartoum, and there fell after a brave resistance, just before succour arrived; and the Sudan was left at the Mahdi's mercy (1884-5). Not until eleven years later was the reconquest undertaken. In three successive campaigns (1896-8) Lord Kitchener pressed steadily southwards, eventually winning a decisive victory

at Omdurman. As a result the Sudan was proclaimed a Protectorate under the joint government of Britain and Egypt. Thenceforward its prosperity has advanced steadily, thanks to the inestimable advantage of a settled government. In 1906 Khartoum was connected by railway with Port Sudan on the Red Sea.

Meanwhile in Egypt the victories of peace were being proved to be no less than those of war. By means of the controlling power that had been assumed the work of regeneration was undertaken. The difficulties were enormous, not least of them being the opposition of France, terminated only by the Anglo-French agreement of 1904. But despite this and other difficulties a great work was accomplished. First the hopelessly muddled finances were taken in hand. "The race against bankruptcy' lasted long, but by 1890 the corner had been turned. Then the country's material prosperity was developed, and in this the "struggle for water" played a considerable part. The great works whereby the waters of the Nile, on which the prosperity of Egypt depends, are conserved and distributed, are one of the romances of engineering. Further, the whole administration was remodelled. The old system of forced labour was abolished, corruption disappeared, the army was reorganized by British officers, the administration of justice improved, education developed, and reforms were introduced into local government. For this great work the main credit is due to Lord Cromer, Consul-General from 1883 to 1907.

From 1882 to 1914 the position of Egypt was highly anomalous. Part of the Turkish Empire, it was yet controlled by England, and a British force stationed in the country. The Sultan's rights were, however, always admitted; indeed, British statesmen repeatedly declared that as soon as Egypt was ripe for self-government the occupation would cease. But when Turkey was in 1914 drawn into war with Britain the position became yet more anomalous, and on

December 18, 1914, Egypt was declared a British Protectorate. Its value to the Empire is considerable—not only are its natural resources great, but it lies on the highway to India and the East. But the predominance of the Muhammadan element in the population, and the activity of a strong Nationalist party, will long make the problem of its government difficult.

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BRITISH AUSTRALASIA

I.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF AUSTRALASIA

Racial Unity. Australasia is the one great overseas division of the British Empire in which colonists of British race were first in the field. In this "fifth quarter" of the world, with an area nearly as large as Europe, lying mainly in the temperate zone, the British race established itself without competitors and almost without challenge. Except in New Zealand, the aboriginal inhabitants were a negligible quantity, and in New Zealand alone did any other European power make any effort to dispute the British claim. Even there the French attempt to claim territory, with which is associated the settlement at Akaroa, was never pushed beyond the stage of an intention. Australia and New Zealand have therefore never had any of the racial or language problems of Canada or of South Africa. From the beginning till to-day the English language has prevailed and the population has been overwhelmingly British in origin. All other races put together have contributed less than 5 per cent. of the total population. The efforts of foreign powers in this part of the world have been confined to the belated acquisition of tropical colonies in the adjacent seas, in New Guinea and amongst the Pacific Islands. But even when allowance has been made for these activities the history of Australasia is simpler than that of any other great division of the British Empire. Though its course has sometimes been influenced by the fear of interference on the part of foreign powers, there has been no actual intrusion by any other nation.

Not only is it simpler, but it is shorter than the history of the other parts of Greater Britain. It does not really begin till 1788, when the first settlers arrived. By that date the United States had run a long course as a group of colonies and had become independent; Canada had been occupied by Europeans for 170 years and had had a varied and eventful history; South Africa had been settled by the Dutch for 138 years, though it had not yet come into British hands, and British rule in India was well established.

Early Exploration. A very brief glance at the events which went before the beginnings of settlement in Australia shows that the unique conditions of her history were not due to any British priority in discovery. The first European navigators to explore the Australasian coasts were the Spaniards, the Portuguese and especially the Dutch. The question of the "discovery" of Australia is shrouded in obscurity; probably the Portuguese learnt of its existence in the first half of the sixteenth century, soon after they had found their way to the Malay Archipelago. But for various reasons the progress of discovery was slow and it was a very long time before the idea of settlement seems to have occurred to anyone. Not only is Australasia almost at the antipodes of Europe, but it is remarkably isolated in the midst of the world of waters which fills the Southern Hemisphere, interrupted elsewhere only by the terminal lands of Southern Africa and South America, by the ice-bound region of Antarctica and by a few islands. Southward lies only the storm-swept ocean and the ice; westward the ocean stretches for 5,000 miles to the coast of Africa, broken only by one or two islands, including Mauritius, which played a part in the exploration of Australasia; eastward the yet emptier and wider wastes of the South Pacific separate New Zealand from the western shores of South America. Only to the north and north-west do the innumerable islands of the Malay Archipelago fill, like fragments of a broken bridge,

the sea between Australia and Asia. And the European nations which controlled in turn the spice islands of the Archipelago, one of the treasure-houses of the world, saw little to attract them in the unpromising regions along the western and northern coasts of Australia. The very fact that the Portuguese had "discovered" Australia before 1542, and even explored the eastern coasts, can only be deduced from a study of old maps; while the Dutch who had, bit by bit, mapped more than half its coast-line, discovered Tasmania and New Zealand, and circumnavigated Australia before any Englishman sailed into these seas, turned their discoveries to no other practical account than to use the western coast as a landmark on the run from the Cape of Good Hope to Java. Australasia, unlike America, turns its back on the Old World. The most fertile and attractive regions of Australia and its best harbours are in the south-east, the corner most remote from Europe and Asia, and New Zealand is still farther off amidst the lonely wastes of the Southern Ocean. To-day nearly five-sixths of the population of Australasia is concentrated in this south-eastern corner and in New Zealand. The west and north-west of the continent possess very valuable resources, but the coasts are generally barren and forbidding. For this reason a special interest attaches to the efforts of the Spaniards who did approach Australia from the eastward, starting from their settlements on the west coast of America. As early as 1528 Grijalva reached New Guinea, and later in the century Spanish expeditions discovered many of the islands to the north-east of Australia. An attempt was even made to found a settlement in the Solomons; had it succeeded the history of Australasia might have been very different. In 1606 the Spaniard Luis de Torres reached the coast of Australia and sailed through Torres Strait, but he never suspected that he had made a landfall on the long-sought southern continent. That Australia had from time

immemorial been isolated from the rest of the world when Europeans first discovered and occupied it is shown by the nature of its fauna and flora, composed largely of animals and plants of types which are either peculiar to this region or are known elsewhere only in the fossil form. The aboriginal inhabitants, too, were of a highly specialized type and had apparently remained for long ages unaffected by any outside influence worth mention.

Coming of the English. The first transient glimpse of English interest in Australia comes towards the close of the seventeenth century. In 1688 William Dampier visited the north-western coast as a member of a buccaneer crew. When he returned to England he interested leading people there in the land which he had seen, and they were persuaded that it was worth investigation. As a result the Admiralty in 1699 sent out an expedition in the *Roebuck* with Dampier in command. Had Dampier come out by Cape Horn as he originally intended he might have struck the eastern coast of Australia, and have found something worth discovering. But his crew would not face the Horn, and he therefore came by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and made the western coast, already well known to the Dutch. He spent about four months on the coast and traced it for 1,000 miles, but his report was not encouraging. "If it were not," he wrote, "for that sort of pleasure which results from the discovery even of the barrenest spot on the globe, this coast of New Holland would not have charmed me much." We hear nothing more of British interest in Australia for another seventy years. Then came the real prelude to its settlement, the first voyage of Captain Cook in the South Seas. In 1769 Cook, in command of the 370-ton barque *Endeavour*, took a scientific party to Tahiti to observe the transit of Venus. By way of killing two birds with one stone he was also instructed to see what discoveries he could make on the way back.

Accordingly, he charted the whole coast of New Zealand, of which Tasman, the Dutch navigator, had seen only a part in 1642, and then sailed westward. On April 20, 1770, he reached the coast of Australia at its north-eastern corner near Cape Howe, where the boundary line between Victoria and New South Wales meets the coast. From this point Cook followed the east coast right up to Cape York. He spent a week in Botany Bay, but curiously enough did not enter Port Jackson, the finest harbour on the mainland of Australia, which lies but a few miles to the north. Landing on Possession Island in Torres Strait, Cook formally took possession of the whole of the eastern coast of Australia, to which he gave the name of New South Wales. One of the scientists who sailed with Cook was Sir Joseph Banks, in whom this voyage inspired an interest in Australia which never left him. To Banks is due the first suggestion, made in giving evidence before a committee of the House of Commons in 1779, that a settlement should be founded in Australia. He recommended Botany Bay as a place to which some of the convicts, whose disposal was becoming a pressing question, might be sent. Later, after his suggestion had been carried into effect, he rendered great services to the struggling colony, sending out scientists, providing seeds and plants for experiments, and aiding explorers like Flinders.

Reasons for Colonization. No great haste was shown, however, in taking advantage of Cook's discovery. More than fifteen years passed before the British government decided to found a settlement in Australia, and it might have been much longer but for events elsewhere. For a century and more it had been the custom to send offenders against the law to the American colonies. This outlet was blocked by the revolt of the colonies, and the prisons became more and more crowded. There were, again, thousands of colonists who remained loyal to Great

Britain, and were forced to leave the United States when the war ended in 1783. Proposals were made by Admiral Young and James Maria Matra to solve both problems at once by settling the loyalists in Australia and shipping the convicts out to provide labour for the new colonies. Had such a plan been carried out in its entirety the early progress of settlement in Australia would probably have been much more rapid than it actually was. The American loyalists would have provided a stock of thousands of strong and sturdy settlers, adaptable, and to some extent used to pioneering conditions. But the affair dragged on for several years; the loyalists went to Canada or the West Indies, and finally New South Wales began as a convict settlement pure and simple. For this purpose its very remoteness and isolation were reckoned an advantage.

II. BEGINNINGS OF SETTLEMENT

The First Fleet. On January 18, 1788, the first fleet bearing the nucleus of the new nation reached Botany Bay. Its eleven vessels had as passengers 1,024 souls, of whom 717 were convicts, with a few women and children who were allowed to accompany them; the rest consisted of officials and the officers and men of the Royal Marines, who were to act as guards. Arthur Phillip was Governor, and Botany Bay struck him, in spite of the enthusiasm which its flower-decked shores had aroused in Banks and others, as a poor site for a settlement. The bay was shallow and not well sheltered; the country round it swampy or else sandy and barren. Luckily Phillip, on looking round, found that he was only a few miles to the south of an inlet of a quite different kind. A narrow entrance between high cliffs gives access to a drowned river valley which forms a magnificent harbour, roomy and sheltered, and with branches stretching inland for

nearly twenty miles. Not far within the heads was a little stream which gave water enough for the modest needs of the little settlement, and here Phillip established himself. Around the site he chose has grown the greatest port in Australasia, and one of the first half-dozen in the British Empire. Sydney, the town which Phillip founded, is to-day the largest city in Australia, with a population of nearly 750,000. But Phillip's immediate concern was to feed his people, and the fine port helped him only as a source of fish to eke out his scanty rations. The country immediately round Sydney is poor and hungry, though some good arable land was soon discovered about Parramatta at the head of the longest arm of the inlet. Phillip and his followers had, as another pioneer put it, "left the world behind to enter on a state unknown." The conditions, climatic and other, were novel; even the seasons seemed topsy-turvy to these immigrants from the northern hemisphere. Sometimes the crops would not grow, and when they did caterpillars and native animals devoured them, while the cattle and sheep strayed away and died. Several times the little colony was on the brink of starvation, and was saved only by bringing food from India or the Netherland Indies. To relieve the position Phillip sent part of his people to colonize Norfolk Island, a fertile speck of land 1,000 miles east of Sydney, and at one time thought of removing the whole settlement thither. For fifteen years, from 1788 to 1803, settlement was confined to a few square miles round Port Jackson with Norfolk Island as an out-station. Phillip's commission as Governor defined the territory of New South Wales as including all Australia east of the parallel of 135 degrees east, and the adjacent islands. But the real business of the Governor of this period was to act as gaoler, and the convict material with which he had to deal was often desperately bad and quite unfit for pioneering work. The military, too, sometimes gave the rulers more trouble

than the convicts. Even as a prison the place proved expensive. Major Ross, Phillip's second in command, predicted that the settlement would not be self-supporting for a hundred years. "It would be cheaper," he declared, "to feed the convicts on turtle and venison at the London Tavern than to be at the expense of sending them here."

Progress by Sea. For these fifteen years, therefore, there was little energy to spare for expansion. On land exploration made hardly any progress. A few half-hearted attempts were made to push inland through the rugged tangles of the Blue Mountains which hem in the coastal strip on which Sydney stands, but the supposedly impassable nature of this barrier was on the whole accepted by the early governors as a good wall to one side of their prison. By sea, however, things were very different. In 1798 Bass and Flinders circumnavigated Tasmania, and proved the existence of Bass Strait, which offered a shorter route to Sydney and enabled ships to avoid the often stormy passage round the south of Tasmania. By 1803 Flinders and others, working from Sydney, had explored the whole coast of Australia. Hand-in-hand with the official exploration, sometimes ahead of it, went the exploitation of the resources of the sea, which proved far more attractive to the adventurous spirits of the new colony than the slow and difficult task of pioneering on land. Whales abounded off the coasts and seals swarmed on the rocky islands and yielded rich returns till they were mercilessly exterminated by the sealers, who were forced to go farther afield to the rock-girt, storm-swept, desolated islands of the far south. By 1803 sealers were busy on all the islands of Bass Strait and as far west as Kangaroo Island and also on the New Zealand coast. Oil and skins were the chief—almost the only—export of New South Wales. Even at this date Sydney's geographical position was beginning to make it one of the chief centres of trade and shipping in the southern hemisphere, in touch with the Pacific Islands, with

the coasts of America, with China, and with India. Ships sailed on smuggling expeditions to the coasts of Chile and Peru or turned privateers, and more than one Spanish vessel was brought into Sydney as a prize during the first few years of the nineteenth century. Sydney skippers went to Tahiti for pork, bartered for sandal-wood among the South Sea Islands, and traded with the Maoris of New Zealand for ship-timber and flax. The building of boats and small vessels had already begun and ship-timber was sent to England. In 1803 H.M.S. *Glatton* took a cargo of timber for the British naval yards, and another followed next year in the *Calcutta*. By comparison with this activity things were stagnant on land. Agriculture was confined to cultivating a few patches round Sydney and at Norfolk Island, coal had been discovered and small quantities sent to India and the Cape, while the pastoral industry, the chief factor in the spread of settlement over Australia, hardly existed as yet. There were only about 7,000 people in the colony, and narrow as were its limits there was room and to spare.

Fear of the French. For the reasons that prompted the founding of new settlements at this moment we have to look beyond Australia and beyond Great Britain. As far back as 1756 Des Brosses had published a book in which he advocated a French colony in the "Terra Australis." Since then French explorers had been active in the southern seas. Bougainville had touched at New Zealand before Cook, and in 1772 Marion, sailing from Mauritius, visited Tasmania and New Zealand, and lost his life at the hands of the Maoris. Immediately after the first fleet reached Botany Bay, La Perouse put in there and stayed a few days before "vanishing trackless into the blue immensity." Four years later D'Entrecasteaux charted with meticulous accuracy the south-eastern corner of Tasmania. And now in 1803 Governor King was wondering what were the motives behind the work of Nicholas Baudin, who had explored with care the coasts

of Tasmania and parts of southern Australia in 1802, and was looking with a suspicious eye on the doings of Alexandre Le Corre, who had come from Mauritius to catch seals in Bass Strait. Le Corre's schooner was wrecked and he and most of his crew were drowned, "which," wrote King coolly, "may stop any more adventures from that quarter." Both King and the authorities in London believed that the French interest in Australasia was more than scientific. That the French at this time thought of founding a colony in Australia there is no evidence; that they might have made a raid on Sydney had occasion offered is highly probable. Péron, who accompanied Baudin, put before the Governor of Mauritius a plan for taking Sydney by landing a force in Broken Bay, and urged that the attack should be made before it became too late. He pointed out that a large proportion of the convicts were Irish political prisoners, and said that every Irish arm in New South Wales would be raised at the news of a French descent. What this might have meant was shown by the Castle Hill rising in 1804, when the Irish prisoners seemed likely for a moment to become masters of the colony. But neither at that time nor later were the French, in Mauritius or elsewhere, in a position to reach Australia in force.

Occupation of Tasmania. However, it was decided that settlements should be planted in Tasmania and on Bass Strait to keep off the French and to make good the British claim to the territory. In 1803 King sent Lieutenant Bowen with a few men to found a settlement on the Derwent, in south-eastern Tasmania, while Lieutenant-Colonel Collins was sent from England with 402 colonists, of whom 307 were convicts, to occupy Port Phillip on the northern side of Bass Strait. There is some of the finest country in Australia near the landlocked Port Phillip, but Collins settled down on a sandy wilderness just inside the heads, and after fretting and fuming there for a few months went on to supersede Bowen

at the Derwent, leaving the future Victoria to remain unoccupied for thirty years to come. On the southern side of Bass Strait a settlement was founded at Port Dalrymple in 1804 by Paterson, who came down from Sydney. From these two settlements, one in the north and one in the south, grew the colony of Tasmania. In the years 1806-1808 their population was nearly doubled by the removal to them of about 1,000 inhabitants of Norfolk Island who were settled on lands in Tasmania. Like Sydney, these new settlements passed through a stage of semi-starvation, but this was soon over. In a few years Hobart on the Derwent became a centre of the whaling and sealing trade, second only to Sydney itself. It was nearer to the southern sealing islands, while at certain seasons whales abounded on the Tasmanian coast. Bold and hardy seamen sailed out of Hobart. One of them, Captain Steine, made one of the most remarkable voyages in Australasian history. With a crew of five men, of whom not one besides himself could read or write, he sailed the 37-ton cutter *Emma Kemp* round the Horn to Rio de Janeiro and back by way of the Cape of Good Hope, thus circumnavigating the globe.

Opening of the Interior. Both New South Wales and Tasmania were convict settlements peopled by prisoners and their guards, but from the earliest times there were a few free settlers who were given grants of land, while military officers and civil officials engaged in farming, using convict labour. John Macarthur, a military officer who turned pastoralist, showed a way in which the enormous extent of pasture lands in Australia could be put to profitable use by laying the foundations of the wool-growing industry. He imported merino sheep of good quality from Cape Colony and from England. The climate suited the growth of fine wool and the sheep throve on the native grasses. As the flocks and herds increased the stockowners pushed farther and farther out into the empty territory around the tiny

settlements north and south of Sydney. But the finest natural pasture lands were still unknown. In 1813, twenty-five years after the first settlement, Australia afforded the unique instance of a continent whose coasts had all been charted while no explorer had anywhere on all its 10,000 miles of coast penetrated more than fifty miles inland.

Down the whole eastern coast, at no great distance back from the sea, runs a series of ranges and tablelands, forming the main watershed of the eastern half of the continent, and one of the most rugged and difficult, though not the highest, parts of this system lies immediately behind Sydney. Nowhere in Australia does any great navigable river offer an easy route into the heart of the country. The greatest river of the continent, the Murray, rises within fifty miles of the Pacific and flows westward to fall into the sea in South Australia, over 1,000 miles by sea from Sydney, and its bar-bound mouth is of little use for navigation. The Murray and its tributaries draw their water from the western slopes of the Dividing Range for nearly 1,000 miles from north to south. In 1813 a party led by Gregory Blaxland, a farmer settler, Lieutenant Lawson, and W. C. Wentworth, a native-born youth who afterwards played a great part in New South Wales politics, crossed the Blue Mountains and reached the edge of the Murray basin. Other explorers had failed because they followed the valleys leading into the ranges, all of which ended sooner or later in *culs-de-sac* hedged about by cliffs. Blaxland and his companions kept to the tops of the ridges and blazed a trail along which was built, a year or two later, the first road giving access to the great plains of central New South Wales. Here lay the true paradise of the pastoralists. Well grassed and well watered, except in the occasional droughts, the open country slopes gradually away to the westward for hundreds of miles, with no mountains and hardly a hill, thousands upon thousands of square miles of thinly timbered, richly grassed

woodland or open plain. The flocks and herds of the young colony poured westward over the mountains and soon increased exceedingly in numbers and spread ever farther and farther to the west, north-west, and south-west. The authorities tried to keep the pastoralists from wandering too far afield and getting out of control, but, as Governor Gipps wrote somewhat later: "As well attempt to confine an Arab within a circle traced on sand as to confine the graziers or wool-growers of New South Wales within bounds that can possibly be assigned to them." Wool, for which there was a growing demand owing to the improvements of machinery in England and the increased output of woollen goods, soon displaced oil and sealskins as the leading export. An active exploration of the interior began; within twenty years the main tributaries of the Murray, which drains over 400,000 square miles, had all been traced, and Captain Sturt had made, in 1830, a daring voyage down the main river to its mouth.

III. ENTERING INTO POSSESSION

A Twofold Expansion. From 1813 onwards the two currents in expansion ran for a time side by side. The swarming out of settlers and their flocks and herds into the western plains began the new era of the extension of settlement for economic reasons. The nearest parallel to it in earlier days was the establishment of sealing and whaling stations on the coasts of New Zealand (where the first sealing gang was left at Dusky Bay in 1792), in Bass Strait, on the marvellously rich sealing grounds of the Macquarie and Campbell Islands (discovered by a Sydney vessel in 1809), and elsewhere. These settlements, too, were due to private enterprise and were sometimes looked at askance by the official eye; but in the nature of things they were not, as a rule, permanent, while the pastoral industry

led the way in the permanent occupation of most of Australia. New settlements of the old type, made for political or military reasons, or to provide for the increasing numbers of convicts, continued to be made. The first of them formed the nucleus of the occupation of a new region altogether, the present Queensland. In 1824 a station to which doubly-convicted felons could be sent was established on Moreton Bay, near the present site of Brisbane. The station was abandoned in 1839, but by that time the pastoralists had worked their way northward into the rich pastures of the Darling Downs country of southern Queensland, and the history of what is now the third state in Australia in population had fairly begun.

The North and West. About 1825, the British government again began to fear that France intended to claim part of Australia. In 1824 France sent to the southern seas an exploring expedition under D'Urville. It was stated that the purposes of the expedition were purely scientific, and a few years later the British government came to believe that this was so. But at the time quite different views were held. Three small settlements of the old type were therefore established at three strategic points to assert British sovereignty and to warn off possible intruders, one in the far north at Melville Island (1824), one in the south-east at Westernport (1826), and one in the south-west on King George's Sound (1827). The Westernport party was withdrawn in 1828, when it had become apparent that the French had no designs on that region. The lonely little settlement on Melville Island never had much vitality, but lasted longer. In 1827 it was moved to the mainland and established at Raffles Bay. This was given up, but in 1831 Port Essington was occupied. It was hoped that this settlement would become a centre of trade with the neighbouring islands of the Malay Archipelago, but nothing came of it and no settlers were attracted to the place, which in

1849 was abandoned. The King George's Sound settlement alone was permanent. Up till 1824 Great Britain had made no claim to that part of Australia which lies west of the parallel of 135° east. But Melville Island was to the west of this line, and in order to include this settlement in New South Wales the boundary was shifted to 129° east. The Albany (King George's Sound) settlement showed an intention to claim the western part of the continent also, and in 1829 Captain Fremantle landed at the Swan River and formally took possession of "all that part of New Holland which is not included in the territory of New South Wales." Great Britain had now definitely claimed the whole of Australia, but the area actually settled was confined to a part of the eastern coast, Tasmania, and one point in the south-west, with the transient settlement in the far north. The population had, however, increased from 6,000 in 1801 to 60,000 in 1829, and the tide of British emigration was setting more and more towards Australia, a tendency to which the Canadian troubles of the thirties contributed something.

Western Australia. To this impulse Western Australia owed its real beginnings, for otherwise the official settlement at Albany might have gone the way of Westernport and Melville Island. The reports of Captain Stirling, who stated, with remarkable optimism, that the Swan River country was "not inferior in any natural essential quality to the Plain of Lombardy," fired Thomas Peel, a wealthy cousin of Sir Robert Peel, and others in England with the idea of founding a colony there. Peel formed a syndicate to settle emigrants at the Swan River in return for 1,000,000 acres of land, of which he was to get 250,000. The first settlers landed on June 1, 1829, and by 1830 there were 1,300 people at the Swan River. Their hardships and difficulties were many; the natives were hostile, the country is patchy and for the most part poor, and the

stock ate poisonous shrubs and died. The system of large land grants led to the settlers being widely scattered over an untamed country, and there was none of the convict labour of New South Wales or Tasmania. Most of the settlers returned to England or went on to Eastern Australia. Of the 4,000 people at the Swan River at the end of 1830, only 1,500 were left in 1832. Still the colony survived; whaling on the coast helped it, and with experience stock-raising was made a success. But it was not till 1850 that the population reached 5,000. Later settlement spread, though still slowly, over the coastal regions of the colony; the magnificent forests of the south-western corner were exploited and mines were opened. But until about 1890 Western Australia had little in common with the rest of Australia. Land communication there was none till a through railway line was opened in 1917; it was not till after 1870 that even a telegraph line connected the two halves of the continent. By sea Western Australia was farther away from the eastern states than New Zealand itself. The sending of convicts to Western Australia began about 1845, and, although it ceased as far as the eastern colonies were concerned in 1853, the system continued in force in Western Australia till 1867.

The Wakefield Theory. Like Western Australia, South Australia was founded direct from England, while all the other colonies after New South Wales were offshoots from previous settlements. Sturt's voyage down the Murray had directed attention to the region along the lower river, and Edward Wakefield, who had founded a Colonization Society in 1830, seized the occasion to try his principle of colonization. He held that it was a fatal mistake to give away land in a new colony or to sell it for next to nothing, and pointed to Western Australia as a case in point. Wakefield's theory was that the land must be sold at a "sufficient price." This would provide funds for bringing out labourers to work

the land, and the fact that capital was needed to buy land would keep the labourers from acquiring farms for themselves and ceasing to work for wages. The British government was opposed to new settlements in Australia, holding that they involved more trouble and expense than they were worth. But Wakefield and his friends had energy and influence. The first settlers arrived in 1836, and proposed to settle on the picturesque but unfertile Kangaroo Island. Colonel Light, the surveyor, saw that this would not do, and chose the present site of Adelaide on a fertile plain between St. Vincent's Gulf and the Mount Lofty ranges. But Wakefield's theory did not work well in practice. Land speculation absorbed the energies of most of the settlers with capital, and the labourers crowded into Adelaide to get a job on government works. By 1841 South Australia was practically bankrupt. Then Governor Grey took control, persuaded the British government to pay off the debt of £405,000 and began afresh on a sounder basis. Agriculture became the solid foundation of South Australia's prosperity. The colony had large areas of open country which could be brought under cultivation at little cost, and produced wheat of the finest quality. Labour for harvesting was hard to get and costly, but in 1842 John Ridley invented a "stripper" which did the work by machinery, taking off the heads of wheat and (in its later and improved forms) separating the chaff from the grain. The "overlanders" brought cattle down the Murray from New South Wales, and the pastoral industry flourished. Copper mines, beginning with that discovered at Burra Burra in 1845, helped the young colony, but South Australia has owed less to mining than any other state. Wheatfields, vineyards, and sheep and cattle stations have always been of greater importance to it.

Port Phillip Pastoralists. Victoria, the smallest but by far the most thickly populated of the mainland states, was, with the exception of South Australia, the last to be settled.

In 1824 Hume and Hovell had travelled overland from New South Wales to Port Phillip, and found good pastoral country, but there was still plenty of room north of the Murray. The first settlers came from the other side, across the straits from Tasmania. The pastoralists of that island, much of which consists of rugged mountainous country covered with heavy forests, were looking for more room. In 1834 the Hentys, four brothers who had come from Western Australia to Tasmania, settled at Portland Bay in the extreme north-west, where they combined whaling with the raising of sheep and cattle. Their settlement there was unauthorized by, and in fact unknown to, the authorities. As far back as 1827 John Batman, a native of New South Wales who had settled in Tasmania, had applied for permission to establish a sheep station at Westernport, but it was refused. Now Batman, a man of bold and adventurous spirit who had distinguished himself as a capturer of bushrangers and marauding aboriginals, resolved to act without permission. In May, 1834, he crossed Bass Strait as representative of a syndicate of fifteen Tasmanian settlers. Batman found the plains to the west of Port Phillip covered with the finest grass, and wrote that he had never seen anything like the land. Entering the River Yarra at the head of the bay, he wrote in his diary of the site on which he pitched his camp: "This will be the place for a village." In eighty years Melbourne, a city of over 600,000 people, has grown up on this site. Batman also made with certain native chiefs what purported to be a treaty for the purchase of 600,000 acres of land in return for a quantity of blankets, knives, scissors, and mirrors. This "treaty" Governor Bourke afterwards disallowed on the ground that the land did not belong to the natives but to the Crown. Batman did not live to see Melbourne grow much beyond a "village." He died there in 1839. By that time settlers coming across Bass Strait with their sheep and cattle had

spread far and wide over the well-grassed plains to the west and north of Port Phillip, and settlers, beginning in 1837, were pouring in overland from New South Wales. During this first purely pastoral stage of its existence this region was simply the "southern portion of New South Wales"; not till 1850 did it become a separate colony under the name of Victoria, and by that time it was just on the eve of a very remarkable revolution, which will be dealt with later.

Old New Zealand. New Zealand differs from Australia in nearly every way, including the course of its history. In place of a continent with a singularly uniform outline, we find two long narrow islands with remarkably irregular coastlines. The climate is mild and moist, the surface broken and mountainous, and covered with dense vegetation. Only in one or two places, such as the Canterbury Plains, is there anything resembling the open grassy plains of Australia. In New Zealand settlement began at a number of independent centres simultaneously, and there has never been so great a concentration of population in a single metropolis as is found in Australian states such as New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. In New Zealand, too, the native race, the Maoris, counted far more than in Australia. The Maoris, an offshoot of the Polynesian race, were not only of a far higher type than the Australian aboriginal, but showed in the North Island a density of population to which there was nothing comparable in Australia. They were fierce and cunning fighters, to whom a battle was meat and drink—the former literally, for they were inveterate cannibals. The first white men to settle down on shore in New Zealand were the sealers, who visited Dusky Sound in the south-west as early as 1795. The sealers visited only the far south, and moved away when the seals were killed or driven away; but in the early years of the nineteenth century white men, whalers, traders, and runaways from New South Wales, settled down at

various points on the coast, some of them amongst the Maoris. In 1814 came the first missionaries, but their teaching made little headway. The main desire of the coastal tribes was to get hold of firearms from the white traders, and Sydney merchants did a roaring trade in bartering muskets and gunpowder for New Zealand flax, pigs, potatoes, timber, and dried Maori heads to be sent as curiosities to Europe. The tribes who got muskets carried blood and death far and wide through both islands, slaughtering without mercy their countrymen who had only the old weapons of stone. The earliest governors of New South Wales exercised some shadowy sort of jurisdiction in New Zealand, but the British government was opposed to settlement. When a colonization company was formed in 1825 the government expressly stated that New Zealand was not British territory. The company sent settlers to Hokianga, but a Maori war dance was too much for their nerves and they removed to Sydney. Later the fear of French intrusion modified the official attitude. A certain Baron de Thierry set himself up as "sovereign chief of New Zealand" about 1835, and presently something more substantial appeared in the form of a French company which secured a land concession at Akaroa in the South Island, and sent settlers out in 1839. In the same year the New Zealand Company, of which Edward Wakefield was the moving spirit, sent a ship-load of settlers to Port Nicholson on Cook Strait; and Captain Hobson, appointed as Lieutenant-Governor, arrived at the Bay of Islands in the far north. Wakefield's brother, who led the Port Nicholson expedition, "bought" from Maori chiefs, whose right to it was of the most shadowy kind, a huge area on both sides of Cook Strait. More important was the Treaty of Waitangi, which Hobson concluded with a number of Maori chiefs on February 6, 1840. This established British sovereignty in New Zealand but confirmed the Maori

tribes in the possession of their land, and provided that if they wished to sell it they must offer it first to the Crown. But when Hobson came to look round he found that of the 104,000 square miles in New Zealand 70,000 were claimed by white men. Of this territory 68,000 square miles were alleged to have been purchased in the two years 1839 and 1840. Often the same land had been sold by two or more different parties of Maoris. It took years to straighten out the tangle, but most of the claims were disallowed. The French question Hobson dealt with by sending to Akaroa a man-of-war which reached the bay four days before the French settlers and annexed the surrounding territory. The Frenchmen settled down quietly on their lands, but the dream of a French colony was over. Elsewhere quarrels with the Maoris about land led to the massacre of nineteen of Wakefield's settlers at Wairau. Some hard fighting in the North Island followed between 1843 and 1846. In the latter year Governor Grey, who had come over from South Australia, secured a temporary peace. Settlers poured in, and by 1850 there were eight separate centres of colonization in New Zealand—Auckland, Wellington, Wanganui, Taranaki, Napier, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago.

Bushrangers and Blacks in Tasmania. Tasmania made rapid progress for a while, once its first few "starvation years" were over. The western half of the island is a wild and rugged region covered with a dense temperate rain-forest and did not invite settlement, but much of the eastern half was fairly open country and well grassed. It was easy to bring it under cultivation, and the regular rainfall ensured good crops. Cattle and sheep flourished, and by 1820 Tasmania was exporting wheat and flour to Sydney and shipping stock to Mauritius. Soon after this wool took its place alongside whale oil as the colony's staple export. But for a while both bushrangers and the aborigines harried the settlers. The "bushrangers" were runaway convicts and

others who took to the bush and lived there as outlaws. They infested the mainland colonies too, but were never such a pest there as in Tasmania. The nature of the country, with the settled districts broken by and sometimes almost surrounded by wild and rugged country, favoured their operations. The most noted gang, led by Matthew Brady, who had escaped from the convict settlement at Macquarie Harbour on the west coast, overran nearly the whole country in 1824 and 1825, and even attacked Launceston, the second town in the colony. Under Governor Arthur this and other gangs were suppressed, but the native problem was still more difficult. The Tasmanian aboriginals were perhaps the most primitive race which has survived till modern times; they used the crudest of palæolithic weapons, and were scarcely acquainted with the most rudimentary arts. A long course of fearful outrages by white men—especially the bushrangers, some of the sealers of the Straits, and the lower class of convict stockkeepers—brought about a state of things in which the hand of the natives was against every white settler. Never numerous, the natives decreased rapidly in numbers, but they were cunning and skilled in bushcraft and took full advantage of the nature of the country. Arthur was driven to offering £5 for every native captured uninjured, and enterprising settlers, of whom Batman was one, formed parties to run them down. But the natives eluded the pursuit, and in 1830 Arthur formed the "Black Line" which was to advance southward and round the natives up in the south-eastern corner. About 5,000 men, soldiers, settlers, and convicts, formed a cordon across the eastern half of the island, but all the natives whom they were hunting, the troublesome tribes of the east coast and the midland country, slipped through the lines, except a man and a boy caught asleep under a log. Then George A. Robinson, a bricklayer who knew something of the blacks and spoke their language, succeeded where Arthur's army had failed. Alone or with

native companies he went out and persuaded the scattered remnants of the tribes to come in. By 1835 the 203 miserable survivors of the race had been gathered together and placed on Flinders Island. So clean a sweep did Robinson make that but one little group of natives, less than a dozen in all, who managed to hide in the remote wildernesses of the extreme northwest till 1842, remained on the mainland of Tasmania. The deported natives died out; Trucannini, the last pure-blooded representative of this species of mankind, *homo Tasmaniensis*, died in 1876. Some traces of their blood yet survive in the "half-castes" of the islands in Bass Strait.

Like islands elsewhere, Tasmania early became a centre of emigration. As far back as 1827 we find the migration of artisans and mechanics—to Brazil of all places—deplored. But the first serious swarming out began with the occupation of Port Phillip. In the years 1835-1840 a large part of the island's small population moved across Bass Strait, while South Australia and New Zealand also attracted settlers from Tasmania. The gap was filled by an increased influx of convicts. For several years after 1840 about 4,000 convicts a year were poured into Tasmania. This intensified the evil, for the glut of convict labour drove free artisans and labourers to the mainland, where transportation practically ceased after 1840. Transportation to Tasmania continued till 1853, and by that time a new lure was drawing population away to Victoria. Of the convict system little need be said here. That at certain times and in certain places it was responsible for hideous cruelties and injustices admits of no doubt. Black and ghastly indeed are some of the records of the convict days. Yet without the convict system Australian history would have run a very different and a slower course. To that system is due the fact that the continent was settled at all, and to the work of convicts much of the early progress of exploration and of settlement is due.

IV. A DOUBLE REVOLUTION.

The Golden Age. The year 1850 is the turning-point in Australasian history. In the next decade occurred two events which profoundly influenced the development of Australasia. The first and the greater of these was the discovery of gold; the second, the coming of steam into the Australian trade. The gold "diggings" broke out in 1851 and the first steam-driven vessel to run between England and Australia reached Melbourne in 1852. Gold brought such a rush of population as Australia had never known and probably would not have known for a long time without it. In 1850 the population of Australia, including Tasmania, was 405,000; in 1858 it first exceeded a million, rising to 1,050,000. Not till 1877, nineteen years later, did it reach 2,000,000. In 1850 Australia was practically an empty continent with seven square miles to each inhabitant. The south-eastern corner was settled, though thinly; there was a fringe of settlement running northward up the east coast and another fringe on part of the west coast; the rest was empty of white men. The growing of wool and the rearing of cattle were the great industries; there was some agriculture, but mining was hardly thought of. At least as early as 1823 specks of gold had been found in New South Wales, and there were other sporadic discoveries in the pastoral era. But the authorities discouraged prospecting, for they feared the effect of gold discoveries on the convict population. In 1849 came the gold-rush to California. Ships crowded with treasure-seekers crossed the Pacific from Sydney and Hobart to San Francisco, and men began to wonder how long this emigration would continue to deplete the scanty population. Edward Hargraves, who had left his farm near Bathurst on the western water-shed of New South Wales, came to the conclusion, after a little experience of California, that he could find gold in the country of similar type round Bathurst. He came back and

early in 1851 he found it. The pressure of events was too much for the authorities and their objections to gold-mining went by the board. A rush to the Bathurst diggings set in, one result of which was an exodus from Victoria. To counteract this a committee of Melbourne citizens offered rewards for the discovery of gold in Victoria. The rewards were soon claimed, and the fame of Bathurst, Turon, and Lambing Flat soon paled before that of Ballarat and Bendigo (which have together yielded, up to 1916, about £150,000,000 worth of gold, or a quarter of Australia's total yield), of Mount Alexander, Forest Creek, and other Victorian diggings. With the news of these great discoveries something like madness seized on the minds of men. The plough rusted in the furrow, the sheep strayed without a shepherd, sailors left their ships, tradesmen their shops, clerks their desks. In South Australia and Tasmania whole districts were left with scarcely a single able-bodied man in them. A little later hundreds of thousands of gold-seekers poured in from Europe, America, and Asia. In a few years Melbourne grew from a small town into a city, and Victoria leaped ahead of New South Wales in population. Communities of 10,000, 20,000, or even 50,000 people or more, as at Ballarat, sprang up almost in a day in regions previously inhabited only by a few shepherds. Production was stimulated by the enormous prices which ruled, and Victoria prospered amazingly. The thronging crowds who swarmed over Victoria contained some very rough and turbulent elements, ex-convicts or runaways from Tasmania who took naturally to bushranging and violence, revolutionaries and "wanted" men from Europe, and men who had seen the wild days of California. But all things considered the diggings were peaceful and orderly. Only at Ballarat was there any serious outbreak of disorder, and even there the scarcity of such events in Australian history has given to the Eureka Stockade fight more importance than it deserved. The Government insisted

that every digger must have a licence and pay 30s., afterwards reduced to £1, a month for it. The diggers objected to this, and at Ballarat the result of this and other troubles was an open rebellion at the end of 1854. The rioters, led by Peter Lalor, an Irishman, and a German named Vern, built a fortification called the Eureka Stockade and proclaimed the "Republic of Victoria." A body of soldiers and police, 276 men in all, stormed the place with a loss of five killed, while between twenty and thirty rebels lost their lives. Much wild talk followed, but things soon settled down. By 1860 the great days of the Victorian diggings were over. Many fields were nearly worked out; on the others gold-mining was beginning to become a settled industry, with much capital invested in machinery and plant, and miners working for wages. In the sixties rich gold discoveries in the South Island of New Zealand drew thousands of diggers to the valleys of Otago (1861) and the wild storm-beaten regions of the western coast (1864). Queensland, too, had its gold-rushes about 1870 and later. Much more important were the later discoveries which made Western Australia the chief gold-producing colony in Australasia. The Pilbara field dates back to 1872, but the great discoveries which altered the whole character of Western Australia were those at Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie in 1892 and 1893. Kalgoorlie's "Golden Mile" has probably never been equalled by any area of similar size. This square mile yielded in a little over twenty years gold to the value of over £70,000,000. A city of 30,000 inhabitants, supplied with water from a reservoir 350 miles away, has sprung up in an arid wilderness previously absolutely uninhabited. These great discoveries drew many thousands of people from the eastern colonies to Western Australia. These "t'other-siders" were not welcomed by the older settlers, who regarded them as dangerous innovators, but they did Western Australia good service by bringing her into touch with the other states and breaking

up the hide-bound conservatism into which she was settling down as a result of their isolation.

Other Metals. No other mineral has had such a potent and compelling influence as gold, but the mineral wealth of Australia has been proved to be great and varied and has had a marked effect on the distribution of population and the development of the country. The discovery in 1883 of enormous deposits of silver, lead, and zinc at Broken Hill in the north-west of New South Wales, has led to the springing up of a community of 30,000 people in a sun-smitten, arid wilderness, and the field has yielded metals to the value of over £60,000,000. In Western Tasmania the existence of a mountain of copper ore at Mount Lyell and of rich deposits of silver-lead and tin elsewhere has lead to the settlement of a singularly rugged and heavily forested region with a rainfall running well above 100 inches a year. The coal of New South Wales has not only supplied Australian wants, but given the material for a considerable export trade to the Pacific coasts of America and elsewhere. The success attained, after many disappointments, in the working of iron on a large scale will be referred to later.

Steam at Sea. The coming of steam vessels effected nearly as great a revolution in the external relations of Australasia as the discovery of gold did in the internal conditions. Up till about 1840 a four months' voyage from England to Australia or back again was reckoned fast, and it often took twice as long. Then the scientific investigation of winds and currents led to the taking of a route by which sailing vessels could get the full advantage of the westerly winds of the "roaring forties" by keeping well to the south on the run from the Cape of Good Hope to Australia and returning by Cape Horn. Vessels of a faster type were put on when the gold discoveries made trade "boom," and many of the famous China clippers used to sail to Australia with passengers and cargo, then northward to China and back to London with

tea. It became not uncommon for sailing ships to run from Liverpool or London to Melbourne or Sydney in less than 70 days, and the double voyage to Melbourne and back again was made in 132 days by one vessel—a better performance than steam could do for some time after its introduction. But with steam, voyages had a certainty and regularity which was impossible with sailing vessels, dependent on the wind; and improvements in the steamships and in the routes used brought Australia closer and closer to Europe as time went on. The opening of the Suez Canal and the use of the overland route to Naples or Brindisi made it possible to reach Melbourne or Sydney in less than a month from London. Earlier than this, in the sixties, steamers ran to the Isthmus of Panama and passengers and cargo were sent across by railway to steamers running from the Pacific side to Australia, but the expense and delay were too great. The completion of the Panama Canal in 1914, however, gave a much shorter route from Australasia to eastern North America and a slightly shorter one to Europe from New Zealand, New South Wales, and Queensland. In spite of the opening of the canals all sailing vessels and very many steamers still use the open ocean routes, which, if a little longer, are cheaper, as there are no canal dues. Recently the idea has been mooted of running to Australia by the Cape of Good Hope route big fast steamers like those which work the Atlantic ferry. With a speed of twenty knots such steamers would cut the voyage down to three weeks. This idea was endorsed by the Dominions Royal Commission, but the outbreak of war in 1914 postponed the taking of any steps to realize it. Australasian trade has been profoundly affected by the introduction of refrigerating machinery on steamers, which began about 1880. This alone has made it possible to export the frozen meat, butter, and fresh fruit which now form so large a part of Australasia's external trade.

Cables and Wireless. The submarine cable has also done

much to overcome the natural isolation of Australasia. In 1872 South Australia completed a telegraph line running from Adelaide through the heart of the continent to Port Darwin, 1,970 miles away, where it linked up with a cable to Java and so to India and England and brought Australia within a few hours of London. About the same time a cable was laid to connect Australia and New Zealand and a telegraph line was run from Adelaide to Western Australia. In 1902 another cable laid across the Pacific from Brisbane to Vancouver gave not only direct connection with North America, but an alternative route to Europe. More recently some of the possibilities of wireless telegraphy have been realized. A startling illustration of the shrinking of the world was given in 1917, when it was stated that the wireless messages sent out from the German station at Nauen, near Berlin, were being regularly received by the stations at Perth and Sydney.

V. INTERNAL CONSOLIDATION.

Industrial Development By 1860 things were beginning to settle down in Australia. There were many gold-rushes after that, but even the rush to Western Australia was but a faint reflection of the great days of Victoria. For many years Victoria retained the lead over New South Wales in population and production which the gold discoveries had given her and Melbourne was the greatest city in Australia, though in recent years her greater area and more varied resources have again put New South Wales in front. As the gold yield fell off Victoria looked for something to replace it, and she was the first Australasian colony to adopt a protectionist policy in order to foster local industries. She was greatly handicapped by the fact that most of the coal for her manufactures had to be obtained from New South Wales coalfields, but in spite of this Melbourne became the great

manufacturing centre of Australasia. New South Wales retained a large measure of free trade up till 1901, when federation brought about a uniform Customs tariff for Australia, and free trade between the states. Since then her wealth in coal has led to a remarkable development of industry in New South Wales. In 1915 Tasmania, the smallest and sleepiest of the states, began on a small scale the generation of electricity from her abundant water-power, an innovation which may in the future have a great effect on the distribution of industries and of population. Victoria has schemes for recovering lost ground by generating electric power from the hundreds of millions of tons of brown coal at Morwell and elsewhere, but they have not as yet (1917) advanced beyond the stage of projects.

Queensland. In the political history of the self-governing Australian colonies there was little of permanent interest except the movement towards federation, described later. In 1859 there was an addition to the number. Queensland, comprising the north-eastern corner of Australia and including within its 500,000 odd square miles some of the richest land in the continent, the finest cattle country in Australia, magnificent sheep pastures and coast lands suitable for tropical agriculture, became an independent colony. First settled in 1824, it had been ever since a part of New South Wales. Queensland began its separate career with 7½d. in the Treasury, but it soon prospered exceedingly. The American Civil War made cotton-growing "boom" on the coast lands in the early sixties, and when that passed away sugar-growing became a great industry, while in mineral wealth, especially copper and gold, Queensland took a very high place. The labour for sugar-growing was mainly supplied by Kanakas from the Pacific islands, who were "recruited" to work for a term of years on the plantations. Soon after federation, however, the importation of coloured labour was prohibited, and the Kanakas have been replaced by white men, largely

Italians in some districts. The increased cost of production has been thrown, by a system of duties and bounties, on the consumers and taxpayers of Australia.

The Empty North. The separation of Queensland still left as nominally part of New South Wales an area of over half a million square miles, forming the central part of the northern half of Australia, which was now completely cut off from it. This northern territory was bounded by Queensland on the east, South Australia on the south, and Western Australia on the west. In 1847 the British Government had proposed to throw it and most of what is now Queensland into a colony called "Northern Australia," but the proposal, which would have had the interesting result of creating a purely tropical colony in Australia, was soon dropped. The Port Essington settlement having been abandoned in 1849, the Northern Territory was absolutely vacant. In 1862 it was offered to Queensland, which would not take the financial responsibility. Western Australia had already far more territory than she could use, but South Australian stock-owners were interested in the pasture lands of the north. In 1862, Macdouall Stuart made an exploring journey overland from Adelaide to the shores of the Indian Ocean, and reported that much of the country was excellent pastoral land. As a result South Australia took over the territory in 1863. Of settlement there has been practically none to this day. There have been mining "booms," but with little permanent result. Cattle stations, where most of the work is done by aboriginal stockmen or stockwomen, have been established, and pearlers or trepang-fishers have worked along the coast. The Malays from the Archipelago had, by the way, been in the habit of visiting this coast long before the coming of the white men; in 1803 Flinders found a fleet of their prahus at Malay Roads. In 1910 the Commonwealth took over the territory and the debt of £3,431,000 incurred by South Australia, and undertook to build, at some date unspecified,

a railway to link the territory with the rest of Australia. Surveys for this line were begun in 1917, but its construction is probably a long way off. Seven years of Commonwealth control have meant a doubling of the debt but no advance in settlement. Lavish expenditure has brought officials and employees to the capital, Darwin, but elsewhere population has actually declined. There are about 4,000 people, largely Chinese and other Asiatics, in a region larger than Germany, France, and Italy put together. In addition there are about 20,000 aboriginals whose treatment, according to official reports, leaves much to be desired. The erection of meat-preserving works at Darwin within the last year or two promises to stimulate the cattle-rearing industry by providing a new outlet for stock which previously had to be driven right across Australia to market. Otherwise the outlook for the territory is very unpromising.

The Maori Wars and After. While the Australian colonies were developing in peace New Zealand had a tough problem to solve in the North Island. In 1860 a quarrel over the sale of land led to fighting at Taranaki. The Maoris still outnumbered the settlers in the North Island and were for the most part well armed and skilled in bush fighting. Luckily for the settlers the Maori tribes were divided amongst themselves. It is true that an attempt was made to set up a Maori "king" with authority over all the tribes, but some of them held firm to the white man's side throughout. On the other hand the "Hau-haus" of Taranaki and the Wanganui River went farther than the "King" party. Led by fanatical "prophets" who preached a fantastic religion, half heathen and half Christian, and, in one case at least, revived cannibalism, they proclaimed in 1864 a war of extirpation against the white men. Fighting went on for several years, breaking out now in one part, now in another. The few British regular troops in New Zealand were reinforced by volunteers from Australia. There were reverses,

and comparatively heavy losses and massacres of settlers; but in 1865 Governor Grey, who had returned to New Zealand from South Africa, took the last rebel stronghold. The "Hau-haus" were suppressed, though isolated outbreaks occurred later, while the "King" Maoris withdrew into the "King" country—a large area on the western side of the North Island—where they remained virtually independent for many years, suffering no white man to enter their territory. The Government took over more than 3,000,000 acres of Maori land elsewhere, most of which was soon occupied by settlers. The South Island settlements, untouched by war and with their population greatly increased by the gold discoveries in Otago and Westland, grew rapidly. In the ten years between 1861 and 1871 the white population of New Zealand rose from 100,000 to 265,000. In 1870 New Zealand entered on a policy of borrowing large sums to spend on public works and to encourage immigration. Between 1873 and 1879 90,000 assisted immigrants were landed, of whom 30,000 arrived in 1874. New Zealand has had its ups and downs since, but has greatly increased its population and wealth. At the end of 1914 it had 1,100,000 white inhabitants and 50,000 Maoris, so that it is far more thickly peopled than any Australian state except Victoria. The remarkable prosperity of New Zealand has been due largely to the discovery that its rich lands, which to a great extent are volcanic soil, could, owing to the mild climate and abundant rainfall, be turned into the finest pastures in the Southern Hemisphere. New Zealand has timber, coal, gold, and other minerals, but the main factor in its wealth and progress is grass. The use of refrigerating machinery has made it possible to ship not only wool but great quantities of frozen meat, butter, and cheese to Great Britain, and these articles are now the mainstay of its export trade. The Maoris have become quiet and peaceful, if not very progressive, citizens. Apart from them the population is even

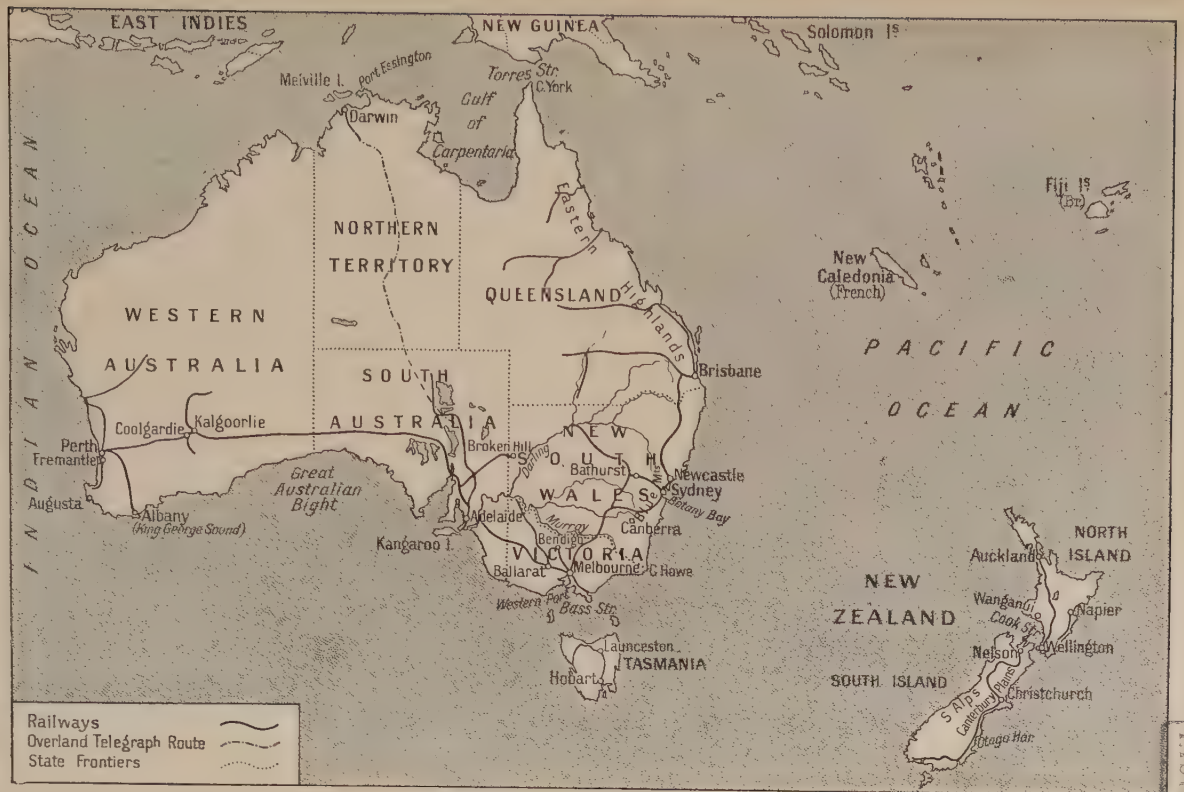
more solidly British than in Australia; in 1911, 98 per cent. of the inhabitants had been born within the British Empire, 69 per cent. in New Zealand, and only 2 per cent. outside. New Zealanders cherish for their country the title of "The Britain of the South" and have kept, possibly owing to the climate, closer to the original type than the Australians.

Independence and Separation. With the separation of Queensland Australia was divided into six colonies, five of them carved out of what had originally been New South Wales. Except for the lax supervision of the Colonial Office in London, which appointed a Governor to each, they were independent little nations. They had their own Parliaments, their microscopic armies and navies, their Customs tariffs—directed often against the other colonies—and all the rights of sovereign states. There was then plenty of room for this playing at government, safe from interference by any foreign power, but even then far-seeing people tried to abolish these artificial divisions amongst a people of common origin faced by common problems. The boundaries between the mainland colonies were, except in the case of New South Wales and Victoria with the River Murray between them, purely arbitrary, consisting entirely of parallels of latitude or longitude. Even the Murray is a boundary in appearance rather than in reality, for the Riverina district to the north of the river belongs geographically and economically, though not politically, to Victoria. But for a long time the colonies resolutely stayed curled up each within its own border. In 1850 the British Government put forward a scheme for a "General Assembly" of Australia with power over the Customs, the Post-Office, shipping, and other matters of common interest. But the proposal was before its time, and similarly an Act of the British Parliament, passed in 1871, which gave power to make a uniform Customs tariff, remained a dead letter. Victorian Customs officials still watched the Murray zealously to prevent smugglers from the foreign

state of New South Wales bringing contraband across the river. In one important matter serious and lasting harm was done by this narrow particularism. Railways mean more to Australia than to most countries, for the distances are greater and there is no system of inland navigation except that offered by the Murray and some of its tributaries, and even this lacks an outlet to the sea. The first Australian railways date from the fifties (New South Wales 1850; Victoria 1854). Since then over 20,000 miles of line have been built. The four eastern states are all linked up by railways, and Western Australia built up an isolated system in the west. The completion by the Commonwealth towards the end of 1917 of the 1,052 miles of railway from Port Augusta to Kalgoorlie at last connected the eastern and western systems. But as the result of each colony going its own way there are really four systems in the eastern states instead of one. New South Wales adopted a 4 feet 8½ inches gauge, while on one side of her is Victoria with 5 feet 3 inches, and on the other Queensland with 3 feet 6 inches. South Australia uses 5 feet 3 inches for part of her lines and 3 feet 6 inches for the rest. Western Australia adopted the 3 feet 6 inches gauge, while the Port Augusta-Kalgoorlie line is 4 feet 8½ inches. That each state laid out its railways with its own capital as the centre of everything and with no regard to the problem of developing the continent as a whole, and that, for instance, New South Wales made it a point of its railway policy to keep the traffic of the Riverina from following the natural route across the Murray and down to Melbourne, is a minor matter by comparison. Either Australia will have to go on for all time with breaks of gauge at most of the state boundaries, and sometimes in between, or enormous sums will have to be spent to get a uniform gauge. How serious these breaks of gauge might be in case of an invasion when it became a matter of life or death to move troops and equipment with all speed from one

part of the continent to another, can be imagined; so far they have done nothing worse than hamper traffic, and as most of the population is concentrated near the coasts much of the heavier goods traffic has always been carried by sea.

Coming of Federation. There were two main factors, one internal and the other external, in bringing the colonies closer together. The first was the improvement in the means of communication in which the railways, in spite of their handicap, played a great part. The second was the entry of foreign powers into the South Pacific. As population increased, relations, economic and social, between the colonies grew more important. People migrated freely from one state to another. Victorians and South Australians played a great part in the development of Western Australia, western New South Wales, and Queensland. With the establishment of the Germans in New Guinea in 1884 the feeling that it would be better for Australia to speak with one voice on external affairs, instead of being divided into six fractions, was greatly strengthened. A Federal Council was created in 1885; but it had little or no power, and the "mother colony" of New South Wales stood aloof. Not till 1901 did the Commonwealth of Australia, made up by the union of the six colonies (including Tasmania) come into existence. New Zealand, isolated from Australia and pursuing her own line of development, stayed outside and is likely to do so in the future. The constitution of the Commonwealth transferred to the Federal Parliament the control of defence, the Customs, the Post-Office, shipping, and certain other matters; but left to the state Parliaments such subjects as the control of the lands, education, the railways (in which the jumble of gauges has actually grown far worse since federation), and other important problems. In public health and labour legislation there is dual control, which is particularly unsatisfactory. The Commonwealth took over the northern territory and Papua (British New



AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

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Guinea), and is committed, as the result of political intrigues, to a white elephant in the shape of a capital at Canberra, a site in the New South Wales bush which was selected for anything but obvious reasons. A great deal of money has been spent at Canberra with no very extravagant return, but Melbourne has been the actual capital since 1901, and is likely to remain so for some time.

VI. AUSTRALASIA AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

Pacific Problems. The interests of Australia and of New Zealand in foreign affairs, particularly in the control of the South Pacific, may be considered together. New Zealand was indeed the first in the field; at a time when the Australian colonies looked but little beyond their own borders, Governor Grey arranged for many of the Pacific Islands to form a Customs union with New Zealand. But the Imperial government did not care for the idea and it fell through. For long after this the only Australian colony which showed any interest in the Pacific Islands, beyond an occasional grumble at the establishment by the French of a penal colony in New Caledonia which they had occupied in 1853, was Queensland, which used the islands as a recruiting-ground for Kanaka labourers. In some cases this "black-birding" did not differ much in methods from the African slave-trade of earlier days; and to check the abuses of the traffic the Queensland government had to exercise some supervision over it. White men, too, traders, planters, and beachcombers, settled on the islands, where some of their doings were not much to the credit of the superior race. The British government was averse to annexations, but in 1875 it was at last persuaded in the case of Fiji that annexation, refused in 1859, was unavoidable. The Pacific was now becoming internationally important. Trade routes from Australasia to America crossed it and it was felt that in spite

of the French failure the Panama Canal would be cut some day. In 1878 the discovery of gold in New Guinea drew many diggers from Australia and there was talk of annexation, but the gold gave out and nothing was done. The eastern half of this great island, lying within 100 miles of Australia, was still left entirely to the native tribes, while the Netherlands claimed the western half. In 1883 Sir Thomas McIlwraith, the premier of Queensland, alarmed by reports of German designs, boldly annexed the vacant half, but the British government would not sanction his action. Later in the same year a convention at which all the colonies, with New Zealand and Fiji, were represented, urged the adoption of a "Monroe doctrine" for the South Pacific and the warning off of all foreign powers from acquiring new territory. In 1884 the British government yielded so far as to annex the south-eastern quarter of New Guinea, but a few weeks later Germany annexed the north-eastern section as well as the New Britain group and other islands. About this time the King of Samoa offered his country to Great Britain through New Zealand, which undertook to pay all expenses; but the offer was declined and here too Germany got a footing. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Pacific had been an empty ocean with the Spanish colonies in America (on the eve of their rebellion against Spain and a long series of wars and revolutions) on one side, and on the other the tiny British settlement in Australia, and the hermit nations of the Far East, their seclusion as yet unbroken. When it ended Japan had become one of the great powers of the world, the United States and Canada had grown across to the Pacific coasts of North America, and Germany, France, and the United States all had interests in the South Pacific.

Exclusion of "Coloured" Races. The chief external question which had so far troubled the Australasian colonies apart from the Pacific question was that of the immigration of coloured races. The gold discoveries brought an influx of

Chinese; a little later the introduction of the camel brought in Pathan camel-drivers, and this was followed by a slight immigration from India, while Kanaka labourers were employed in Queensland. The growth of democracy meant a strong feeling against coloured labour, especially against the Chinese, who were supposed to work longer hours than white labourers for less pay. Legislation to restrict the immigration of Chinese was passed in all the colonies, and after federation came a policy of shutting out all "coloured" immigrants, Chinese, Indians, South Sea Islanders, or what not. Even the entry of European British subjects in the shape of Maltese has been bitterly opposed by a powerful section of the Labour party. The policy presents difficulties in the case of British subjects like the natives of India, but it has been fairly rigidly enforced even against them. Of the effect of the exclusion of coloured labour on the tropical part of Australia and its developments it is too early as yet to speak with certainty; but up to the present the results of the attempt to develop a tropical region with white labour only have not been very encouraging, and in the Northern Territory they have been negative. But while tropical Australia is lagging far behind some other tropical regions of much smaller area, it is to be borne in mind that it is for the most part not a rich country.

Imperial Relations. The relationship of Australasia to the British Empire has developed in a remarkable way. In the days when the Australasian colonies became self-governing it was a popular theory with officials and politicians in Great Britain that in the long run overseas colonies of this character were bound to follow the example of the United States. But the tendency has been all in the other direction. "Cutting the painter" or severing all connection with the mother-country was an idea much more heard of in Australia thirty years ago than now; for years past it has been practically extinct. In 1885 W. B. Dalley, then acting

as premier of New South Wales, gave an example of the spirit which was shown on a larger scale in the South African war by sending troops to the Sudan. But what really drove home in Australasia the idea of solidarity with the rest of the British Empire was the war with Germany. In 1914 Australia had the beginnings of a fleet of her own in a battleship cruiser, a couple of light cruisers, and some smaller craft, while both she and New Zealand had had for some years a rather rudimentary system of compulsory military training. Within a few weeks of the outbreak of war Australian troops had occupied German New Guinea and the islands near it and New Zealanders had taken Samoa. Since then the Australian warships have done some service at sea, while Australia and New Zealand have sent overseas more than 400,000 men out of a total population of 6,000,000. Australasian troops have seen much service in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Australasia has been drawn into the current of world affairs to an extent which would have seemed impossible a few years ago, and the strength of the feeling of kinship and common interest with the other parts of the British Empire has been vividly shown.

Australasia To-day. To-day, a century and a quarter after the first settlement, 6,000,000 people of British race occupy in Australasia a huge area, continental and island, nearly as large as Europe and extending from the Equator more than half-way to the South Pole. There are already divergencies from the original type, physical and mental, under the influence of a new environment, but in spite of that the people are solidly British in race, language, and feeling. The old days when Australasia, isolated from the world, went quietly on her way developing a few patches of territory and making use only of those resources which promised the most immediate returns, have gone; and there are big problems ahead of Australasia in these days of universal competition and of increasing pressure on the world's

resources. With less than two inhabitants to the square mile, this is the most thinly populated habitable region of the globe of anything like equal size, emptier than Canada or even Siberia. Only the south-eastern corner and the south-western margin of the continent are at all thickly peopled, and even these are far from fully developed. The north is almost empty and there is but a thin scattering of population elsewhere. When every allowance is made for the deserts and the arid regions which occupy a good deal of continental Australia, the fact remains that there are great areas of fertile country as yet hardly touched. Considering the natural obstacles and the small population, largely crowded as it is into a few coastal cities, wonders have indeed been done in developing Australia; but a vast deal remains to do. Most of the country, an enormous area in all, that offers sufficient natural pasturage has been brought under some sort of pastoral occupation. The exploration of the often arid and difficult interior has been practically completed, a work which has cost not a few lives and called forth much heroic endurance. In the later work of exploration and in the development of the interior the camel, introduced about 1860 and now very much at home, has played a great part. With well over 100,000,000 sheep Australia is the world's greatest wool-producing country. In recent years agriculture has been pushed farther and farther back from the coast. Irrigation systems have been developed, though as yet on a small scale, in parts of the Murray basin; while the conservation of moisture by "dry-farming" methods and the breeding of varieties of wheat specially suited to the conditions has enabled regions once regarded as hopelessly arid to produce vast quantities of wheat. In the production of wheat Australia is but little behind Canada; in 1916 she harvested over 150,000,000 bushels. While Australia is still mainly a producer of foodstuffs and raw materials, including metals of many kinds, manufactures are increasingly im-

portant. The backbone of modern civilization is iron and steel, and more than passing importance therefore attaches to the recent development of iron working on a large scale in Australia. That Australia is rich in iron has been known for a century or so, and at different times it has been worked to some extent. But in 1912 large steel-works of the most modern type were established on the Newcastle coalfield in New South Wales. The iron ore is brought over 1,000 miles by sea from the Iron Knob in South Australia, where it is simply quarried out of a hill of practically pure iron ore a mile long, half a mile or more wide at the base, and 700 feet high. Not only do these works turn out iron and steel for Australasian needs, but much of the steel has been exported to Great Britain for war purposes. So Australasia stands now as a region of great potentialities as yet hardly touched. A few thousand miles away are the teeming millions of Asia, and behind them other Old-World nations seeking new opportunities. Australasia has developed on British lines, and it is the will of her people that she should continue to do so; but the problem of peopling and developing this great possession is but very partially solved, and the full solution may not be easy.

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THE SMALLER BRITISH POSSESSIONS.

Historical Unity. The British Empire, although composed of scattered and widely differing members, has an historical unity of its own. The development of the colonies and dependencies is intimately bound up with the development of the mother-country, and throughout the past three centuries there has been continual action and reaction between them. This is most obviously true, perhaps, of commercial development, but it is noticeable also in respect to political matters. The English parliament throughout has been the model and mother of the parliaments of the self-governing colonies; wherever Englishmen have settled they have applied methods of law and organization which they learnt at home, though due regard has been paid to existing local institutions—*e.g.*, in French Canada, South Africa, Ceylon, or India—and there has been no attempt to apply a rigid system. At the same time, many political measures of a progressive type have been adopted by the self-governing colonies and afterwards, when the experiment proved successful, have been applied by the mother-country. Thus we have gradually made our way towards a new and fruitful conception of the British Empire. For long Britain was regarded as an imperial country ruling her possessions largely for her own benefit; and when they were troublesome or did not pay, there were not wanting those who would even suggest that they were a responsibility of which Britain would do well to rid herself. "These wretched colonies," said Disraeli in 1852, "will all be independent in a few years

and are like a millstone round our necks." Disraeli, of course, in later life completely altered his views on this subject, but at the time when he spoke he well represented the popular attitude towards imperial responsibilities. During the last half-century a great change has taken place—largely owing to the colonies themselves—and to-day even the old conception of "empire" is giving way to an ideal of a world-wide federation, or commonwealth. It remains true that Great Britain still has a paramount importance as the chief seat of mining and manufactures, and that it contains probably as much as two-thirds of the white population of the whole empire. But historically, as Professor Seeley has truly shown, the Empire may be regarded as an extension of the mother-country herself; at any rate so far as the self-governing dominions are concerned, Britain may be considered as *primus inter pares*, and this relationship will be more real than ever when the after-effects of the Great War begin to make themselves felt and some form of Imperial Federation becomes a constitutional reality. This change in the attitude of Britain towards her daughter-nations has been facilitated by the advent of steam and electricity, which counteract the effects of distance and render possible a much higher degree of organization and intercommunication than could be achieved in the old days. Most important also is the sentimental bond furnished by the existence of a hereditary monarch. He is at once King of all the Britains and Emperor of India, and there is a widespread feeling throughout the Empire that in his office the unity of the whole organism is typified. This feeling and the sentiment of Imperial unity have naturally increased together; with the result that, although during the past century the historic monarchy has undergone "a beneficent substitution of influence for power," it has in reality strengthened its position, and has survived without loss of prestige the downfall of thrones and rise of republicanism consequent upon the Great War.

Geographical Unity. Besides this historical unity, the British Empire has an almost more obvious geographical unity. The Roman Empire, from Rome as a centre, extended outwards mainly on land, and the great roads radiating in every direction provided the nexus which bound the whole organism together. In the case of the British Empire the sea is the connecting-link. Oceans no longer divide but unite, and the trade routes across every sea make possible a homogeneous empire composed of widely scattered units. This condition renders imperative the existence of a paramount navy to secure the sea connections which are the vital arteries of the empire. Throughout the history of British expansion this has been true. Our early possessions were islands, peninsulas, or strips of coast-line which were easily accessible from the sea; continental expansion is a more recent phenomenon. Command of the sea enabled us to defeat each of our great rivals in turn—the Spanish in the sixteenth century, the Dutch in the seventeenth, the French in the eighteenth, and the Germans in the twentieth. To Britain, therefore, the Royal Navy has naturally become the "senior service," and parallel with its development has gone that of the mercantile marine by which economic relations between the mother-country and her colonies have been maintained and the web of empire slowly woven.

But shipping always implies ports whence supplies can be obtained, and where repairs can be effected. Before the days of steam it was necessary that there should be frequent ports of call for watering and provisioning ships; and even steamers need frequent supplies of coal or oil-fuel. Naval bases along the lines of communication are therefore indispensable in an empire such as that which we hold; and it will be found that in most cases the smaller British possessions were originally occupied or conquered for this reason. In some cases their former importance may have decreased with the advent of steam-

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ships or the decline of certain trade-routes; but it remains true of most that they are still essential to the safeguarding of our worldwide trade and to the maintenance of relations between the mother-country and the larger colonies or India.

I.—THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

Gibraltar. Slightly to the east of the narrow strait between Africa and Spain a peninsula juts southwards. At its southern end lies the famous lion-shaped rock of Gibraltar, which slopes steeply down on each side except towards the west where the town and dockyard have been built. The rock itself has been strongly fortified, but the docks are well within the reach of modern guns from Spanish territory. The development of artillery, therefore, as well as the invention of the submarine, have both modified Gibraltar's position as "key" to the western Mediterranean—though to what extent is a question upon which experts differ. None the less Gibraltar must always have a unique importance as a naval base and must contribute greatly to the strength of Britain's position in the Mediterranean. The rock was captured in 1704, during the War of the Spanish Succession, and was formally ceded to Britain at the Peace of Utrecht. In 1779 it was blockaded by an allied French and Spanish fleet. The siege lasted nearly four years, but proved unsuccessful owing to the gallant defence made by the Governor, General Elliot. It is difficult to over-estimate the value of Gibraltar during Nelson's campaign in the Mediterranean against Napoleon.

Malta. The island of Malta lies between Africa and Sicily, where the Mediterranean narrows near its centre. The position of Malta is reflected in its history; it has been occupied in turn by Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Saracens, Normans, Spaniards, the Knights of St. John, and the French.

After the battle of the Nile, Valetta, the chief harbour of the island, which was occupied by a French garrison, was besieged by the British and was reduced in 1800. It was definitely ceded to England in 1814.

Cyprus. Cyprus was the seat of an ancient civilization, but like Malta it has passed through many vicissitudes. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8 it was ceded to Britain on a lease from the Sultan of Turkey, but in November, 1914, on the outbreak of hostilities against Turkey, the island was formally annexed. It might well have become valuable as a coaling-station near the Suez Canal, but the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 altered its position in this respect. Its importance to the Empire at present is chiefly negative; in the hands of a hostile power it might be made a serious danger to our Mediterranean interests and might imperil our communications with India and the Far East.

II.—THE INDIAN OCEAN.

Ceylon. The island of Ceylon, although structurally a part of the mainland, and often connected with it in the course of history, is politically a separate entity. It enjoys the status of a Crown colony administered by the Colonial Office, and is in no wise subordinate to the Indian government. The first Europeans to make conquests in Ceylon were the Portuguese, who arrived in 1505. They found the island in a state of unrest. Tamils from Southern India had in the course of centuries pushed the domains of the ancient Singhalese monarchy farther and farther towards the south, while the descendants of Arab traders had established themselves along the coasts. The situation, therefore, had something in common with that of India in the early days of British activity there. Ceylon shared in the general break-up

of the Portuguese Empire in the East at the hands of the Dutch. By 1658 the island had come under the influence of Holland, which for nearly a century and a half monopolized its cinnamon trade. In 1782, when the French and Dutch were allied against England in the war of American Independence, the English seized Trincomalee, on the east side of the island, for use as a naval base against the French fleet, which, under Admiral Suffren, was proving a serious danger to English shipping in Indian waters. The harbour was subsequently recaptured by the French, and at the peace in 1783 was returned to its original owners, the Dutch. Twelve years later, when Holland had become a dependent ally of France after the Revolution, the English took possession of the Singhalese ports, and the island, together with Trinidad, formed the only conquest retained by England at the Peace of Amiens. Since then the history of Ceylon has been somewhat uneventful. The last native and independent king of Kandy, whose savagery had alienated his subjects and made war with the British inevitable, was deposed in 1815. The island had originally been annexed to Madras, but it was afterwards erected into a separate colony. The original institutions of Ceylon have been to a large extent continued under British rule. The legal system of the island is based substantially on the Roman-Dutch law, which was in use at the time of the English conquest, and which is also retained in South Africa; but for many administrative purposes the ancient native customs are still in operation. The result has been a contented and peaceful population, and, at any rate for the past century, Ceylon affords an instance of the maxim: "Happy is the nation that has no history."

Aden. Aden is situated on the coast of Arabia about a hundred miles east of the entrance to the Red Sea. It was occupied by a British force sent out from Bombay in 1839. Its importance has greatly increased since the opening of the

Suez Canal, and its close connection with the Mediterranean trade-route to India is shown by the fact that it is administered by the Bombay Presidency and is thus legally part of our Indian Empire. Aden is to-day a huge coaling-station and has been strongly fortified. Closely connected with it are the adjacent island of Perim (occupied in 1857), the Kuria Muria Islands (1854), and the protectorates of Socotra and British Somaliland (see p. 301).

Mauritius. The island of Mauritius lies on the direct route from the Cape to India. It has thus lost some of its old importance owing to the decline of the Cape route to the East. It was discovered by the Portuguese, who were in turn dispossessed by the Dutch. The latter in 1715 were replaced by the French, who proved good colonists and developed the sugar plantations of the island. In the Napoleonic wars France made good use of Mauritius as a base from which to prey upon British ships voyaging to and from India. In 1810, therefore, an expedition was sent out and the island was captured. It was formally made over to Britain at the general peace in 1814. The cultivation of sugar is still the chief industry of Mauritius, much of the labour being supplied by Hindu coolies, but the competition of European beet-sugar has caused some decline in the prosperity of the island.

Seychelles, etc. The Seychelles islands, which lie a thousand miles north of Mauritius, became British at the same time as the larger island; but in 1903 they were constituted a separate colony. In the hands of a foreign power they might become dangerous in time of war to our commerce in the Indian Ocean; and this is perhaps an important reason for our retaining the group. The same remark is true of many smaller British possessions in the Indian Ocean—*e.g.*, the Chagos, Aldabra, and Cocos Islands.

III.—THE FAR EAST.

Singapore, etc. As has been seen, the early attempts of the British to obtain a footing in the East Indies were not very successful. But when in the eighteenth century the East India Company began to develop a trade with China the need of a port of call *en route* became imperative. In 1786 the Company purchased from a native raja the island of Penang, on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. In 1811 the British occupied Java, but by the Congress of Vienna, after the downfall of Napoleon, the island was restored to the Dutch. The British Governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, showed great foresight in acquiring by treaty with a local prince the site of Singapore, an island at the extreme south of the Malay Peninsula (1819). It has a fine natural harbour, and its central position in relation to the trade-routes of the Far East has been shown by the wonderful development of its commerce. In 1825 Malacca, on the west side of the Malay Peninsula, was acquired from the Dutch. It had for long been a bone of contention, but was now exchanged for some British stations in Sumatra. The three possessions—Penang, Singapore, and Malacca—were organized under a single government in 1837. After the dissolution of the East India Company these Straits Settlements were made independent of the government of India and became a crown colony in 1867. Since that time British influence in the Malay Peninsula has extended. There are to-day a number of federated native states which retain their own rulers, but in which a British resident is largely responsible for the administration. The development of the whole region has been very marked; the tin-mines of Malaya, worked largely by Chinese labourers, are the most productive in the world.

British Borneo. About a quarter of Borneo is under British control; but this area is itself divided into four

distinct regions, no two of which stand in the same relation to the government at home. (1) The district of Sarawak was granted in 1841 by a native prince to James Brooke, a retired officer of the East India Company's army. This remarkable man succeeded in organizing a stable government, in introducing civilization among the fierce Dyak tribes, and in putting down piracy. Sarawak was formally taken under British protection in 1888, and is at present administered by a nephew of the original raja. (2) In 1846 the island of Labuan was ceded to Britain by the native ruler at the instance of Raja Brooke. It was occupied chiefly as a base for the suppression of piracy, but its coal deposits have since been worked and it has been placed under the government of the Straits Settlements. (3) In 1881 the northern end of Borneo was granted to a British chartered company, but at present this region has been only imperfectly developed. (4) Finally, the Sultan of Brunei, a small native state lying between Sarawak and British North Borneo, in 1888 placed himself under British protection. Subsequently he made a treaty agreeing to govern with the advice of a British resident; and his position is therefore very similar to that of an Indian feudatory prince.

Hong-Kong. After the first Chinese War, as the result of which China was obliged to open her trade to foreigners, the island of Hong-Kong, at the mouth of the Canton river, was ceded to Britain (1841). The splendid harbour of Victoria and the enormous development of commerce in the Far East have made Hong-Kong one of the chief ports of the world. Part of the adjacent mainland has also been leased to Britain.

Wei-hai-wei. Wei-hai-wei, on the Shantung peninsula, was leased to Britain by China in 1898, to be held by us for as long as Russia should hold Port Arthur. The capture of this latter place by the Japanese has perhaps altered our title to Wei-hai-wei; but although Britain still holds the

port, little attempt has hitherto been made to develop it, and it would probably need to be strongly fortified before it could have any military value.

IV.—THE ATLANTIC OCEAN.

The Bermudas. The Bermudas are a group of coral islands in the north-west Atlantic. In 1609 Sir George Somers, who was in charge of an expedition designed to relieve the colony of Virginia in its early struggles (see p. 21), was wrecked here; but after ten months on the islands he was able to resume his voyage to North America. Hitherto the group had the reputation of being "inchanted and inhabited with witches and deuills, which grew by reason of accustomed monstrous thunder, storme, and tempest." But Somers reported that the Bermudas were "the richest, healthfullest and most pleasing land as ever man put foot upon"; and in 1616, therefore, a company was formed to colonize the group. In 1684 this company was dissolved and the islands passed under the direct control of the Crown. The Bermudas at first tried, not very successfully, to develop tobacco plantations, and they still do a trade with New York in early flowers and vegetables; but it is of little economic importance to the Empire. Their real value from the first has been strategic, as an imperial outpost to guard trade passing between England and North America or between them both and the West Indies. As Judge Jeffreys said in 1682, "Bermuda lies in the eye of all trade to the West Indies." These statements are perhaps less true of the Bermudas at the present day because the group lies south of the direct steamer routes between England and North America, and north of those to the West Indies; but the islands must always be valuable as a base for our North Atlantic fleet.

Trinidad, etc. It will be convenient here to refer to a few West Indian possessions which were acquired during the wars

with France between 1793 and 1815. In 1794 Admiral Jervis captured St Lucia; in 1797 Trinidad was taken from Spain; and in 1803 the adjacent island of Tobago was also acquired. Our only possession on the mainland of South America—the colony of Guiana—was captured in 1796 by a British force operating from Barbados. All these possessions were confirmed to Britain at the Congress of Vienna.

St. Helena. St. Helena is a rocky, volcanic island in the south Atlantic. It was first occupied by the Dutch as a fresh-water station for their ships trading to the East Indies. In 1673 it was captured by the British. The island gained a temporary importance while Napoleon was confined there and more recently was used as a prison for Boers during the South African War. The prosperity of St. Helena has been much affected by the opening of the Suez Canal route to India, and the population of the island is steadily dwindling.

Ascension. Ascension, an island to the north-west of St. Helena and much like it in physical characteristics, was occupied in 1815, for fear lest it might be used as a base for attempts to rescue Napoleon. It is now a coaling-station and has a considerable export of turtle.

Falkland Islands. The Falkland Islands, about 300 miles to the east of the Strait of Magellan, were sighted as early as 1592 by John Davis, the explorer of the North-West Passage (see p. 10); but they were not permanently occupied until 1832. The islands are bleak and rainy, and the only industry is sheep-farming. They have a strategic importance in reference to the trade-routes to Western South America and Australia *via* Cape Horn, but this is being diminished since the opening of the Panama Canal. The Falkland Islands have also a value as a harbour of refuge and refitting-station for vessels which have come to grief in the storms which prevail in the latitudes of the "roaring forties."

Mollweide's Homalographic Projection

PRESENT EXTENT OF ANGLO-SAXON EXPANSION.

Territory belonging to the British Empire is shown in solid black or by underlining the names. The United States and its possessions are indicated by dotted shading or by a dotted line under a name. Areas captured from the Germans during the Great War are shaded with horizontal lines.

V.—THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

A large number of Pacific islands have been included in the British Empire. The reason for British occupation in most cases has been that in the hands of a foreign power they might be used as bases in time of war against Australia and New Zealand. Some of these islands are already administered by Australia (*e.g.*, Norfolk Islands) or by New Zealand (*e.g.*, the Cook Islands). Similarly it has been proposed that, by mandate from the League of Nations, New Guinea should be entrusted to Australia and Samoa to New Zealand. The chief British group is that of Fiji, which was annexed at the desire of its inhabitants in 1874. The local sugar plantations are worked largely by Indian coolies. West of Fiji lie the New Hebrides, which are under joint British and French control. Many of the natives have been imported as labourers into Queensland (see pp. 336, 344, and 346). Other British possessions in the Pacific are the Tonga Islands, placed under a formal British protectorate in 1900; the Solomon and Gilbert Islands, acquired in 1893; and Pitcairn Island, which has achieved some fame as the settlement of the mutineers of the warship *Bounty*. It was originally occupied in 1789, but the descendants of the mutineers still inhabit the island.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

A.D.	*Europe, etc.*	*America.*	*India and the East.*	*Africa.*	*Australasia.*
1000.	—	Norsemen discover North America.	—	—	—
1271-95.	—	—	Marco Polo's Travels.	—	—
1445.	—	—	—	Dinis Diaz rounds Cape Verde.	—
1453.	Turks capture Constantinople.	—	—	—	—
1455-85.	Wars of the Roses.	—	—	—	—
1471.	—	—	—	Portuguese visit the Gold Coast.	—
1484.	—	—	—	Diego Cam discovers the Congo.	—
1485.	Henry VII.'s Navigation Act.	—	—	—	—
1487.	—	—	—	Bartholomew Diaz rounds Cape of Good Hope.	—
1492.	—	Columbus discovers America.	—	—	—
1494.	Treaty of Tordesillas.	—	—	—	—
1496.	*Magnus Intercursus.*	—	—	—	—
1497.	—	Voyages of John Cabot.	—		
1498.	—	—	Vasco da Gama's voyage to India.	—	—
1499.	—	Voyage of Sebastian Cabot.	—	—	—
1500.	—	Cabral touches at Brazil.	—	—	—

1507.	—	—	Portuguese in Ceylon.	—	—
1509.	Accession of Henry the Eighth.	—	—	—	—
1510.	—	—	Albuquerque captures Goa.	—	—
1513.	—	Balboa discovers the Pacific Ocean.	—	—	—
1519.	—	Cortes conquers Mexico.	—	—	—
1520.	—	Magellan discovers his strait.	—	—	—
1524.	—	French under Verrazano coast along North America.	—	—	—
1525.	—	—	Baber begins his invasion of India.	—	—
1527.	—	Robert Thorn's *Declaration.* John Rut attempts to find North-West Passage.	—	—	—
1528.	—	—	—	—	Grijalva (Spanish) reaches New Guinea.
1530.	—	—	—	William Hawkins touches at West African Coast.	—
1531.	—	Pizarro conquers Peru.	—	—	—
1532.	Beginning of Reformation in England.	—	—	—	—
1533.	Accession of Ivan the Terrible.	—	—	—	—
1534.	—	First voyage of Jacques Cartier.	—	—	—

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

A.D.	*Europe, etc.*	*America.*	*India and the East.*	*Africa.*	*Australasia.*
1535.	Henry VIII. takes title of "Supreme Head of the Church in England."	—	—	—	—
1536.	—	Hore attempts to find North-West Passage.	—	—	—
1547.	Accession of Edward the Sixth.	—	—	—	—
1553.	Accession of Mary.	—	Foundation of the Muscovy Company. Chancellor's voyage to Moscow.	Windham's voyage to Guinea.	—
1554-5.	—	—	—	Lok's and Towerson's voyages to Guinea.	—
1555.	—	—	Accession of Akbar.	—	—
1558.	Loss of Calais. Accession of Elizabeth.	—	—	—	—
1558-9.	—	—	Jenkinson's voyage to Bokhara.	—	—
1559.	Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.	—	—	—	—
1562.	—	Spaniards massacre Huguenots in Florida.	—	—	—
1562-3.	—	First voyage of John Hawkins to West Indies.	—	—	—

1564-5.	—	Second voyage of John Hawkins to West Indies.	—	—	—	—
1565.	Turks besiege Malta.	—	—	—	—	—
1567-8.	—	Third voyage of John Hawkins to West Indies.	—	—	—	—
1568.	—	Massacre at San Juan de Ulua.	—	—	—	—
1570.	Turks capture Cyprus.	—	—	—	—	—
1570-1.	—	Drake's voyages to the West Indies.	—	—	—	—
1572.	—	Drake at Nombre de Dios.	—	—	—	—
1576-8.	—	Frobisher's attempt to find North-West Passage.	—	—	—	—
1577-80.	Drake's voyage of circumnavigation.	—	—	—	—	—
1580.	Portugal conquered by Spain.	—	—	—	—	—
1583-90.	—	—	Fitch's travels in the Far East.	—	—	—
1583.	—	Gilbert fails to colonize Newfoundland.	—	—	—	—
1584.	Death of Ivan the Terrible.	—	—	—	—	—
1585.	—	Ralegh's "Virginia" colony.	—	—	—	—
1585-7.	—	Davis attempts to find North-West Passage.	—	—	—	—

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

A.D.	*Europe, etc.*	*America.*	*India and the East.*	*Africa.*	*Australasia.*
1587.	Drake "singes the King of Spain's beard."	—	—	—	—
1587-8.	—	Renewed attempts to found Virginia colony.	—	—	—
1588.	Defeat of the Armada.	—	—	A short-lived Gambia Company chartered.	—
1591.	—	—	—	Lancaster lands at the Cape of Good Hope.	—
1592.	—	—	Lancaster reaches the Malay Peninsula.	—	—
1595.	—	Ralegh's expedition to Orinoco.	—	—	—
1600.	—	—	Incorporation of the East India Company.	—	—
1601.	—	—	First voyage of the E.I.C.	—	—
1602.	—	—	Dutch form an East India Company.	—	—
1603.	Accession of James I.	—	—	—	—
1604.	Hampton Court Conference.	—	Second voyage of the E.I.C.	—	—
1605.	—	Port-Royal founded by the French. Attempts to colonize Barbados.	Accession of Jehangir.	—	—

1606.	—	Incorporation of the Virginia Company.	—	—	Torres (Spanish) reaches Australia.
1607.	—	Foundation of Jamestown.	—	—	—
1608.	Puritans emigrate to Holland,	De Champlain founds Quebec.	—	—	—
1609.	Plantation of Ulster.	Amended Charter of Virginia Company. Dutch discover Hudson River. Sir George Somers wrecked at the Bermudas.	—	—	—
1611.	—	Hudson discovers Hudson Bay.	—	—	—
1612.	—	—	—	—	—
1615.	—	—	Best's victory at Swally Roads.	—	—
1615 6.	—	Baffin attempts to find North-West Passage.	Downton's victory at Swally Roads. —	—	—
1615-8.	—	—	Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.	—	—
1616.	—	Ralegh's last expedition to the Orinoco. Bermudas (Somers' Islands) Company founded.	—	—	—
1618.	Execution of Ralegh.	—	—	Foundation of a Company of African Adventurers.	—
1619.	—	Beginning of Representative Government in Virginia.	—	—	—

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

A.D.	*Europe, etc.*	*America.*	*India and the East.*	*Africa.*	*Australasia.*
1619-22.	—	—	English ousted by Dutch from East Indies.	—	—
1620.	—	"Pilgrim Fathers" found Plymouth Colony. Incorporation of Council of New England.	—	Expedition to Gambia.	—
1621.	—	Attempts to colonize Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.	—	—	—
1622.	—	—	Masulipatam factory founded.	—	—
1623.	—	Foundation of St. Kitts (earliest colony in West Indies).	Massacre at Amboyna		
1624.	—	Virginia Company abolished.	—	—	—
1625.	Accession of Charles the First.	—	—	—	—
1626.	—	Foundation of New Amsterdam.	—	—	—
1627.	War between England and France.	Richelieu incorporates Company of New France.	Death of Jehangir.	—	—
1628.	The Petition of Right.	—	—	—	—

1629.	—	Foundation of Massachusetts. Quebec captured from the French.	—	—	—
1632.	Treaty of St. Germains.	Quebec restored to France.	—	—	—
1633.	—	Foundation of Connecticut.	Pipli (Orissa) factory founded.	—	—
1634.	Charles I. begins to levy ship-money.	Foundation of Maryland.	—	—	—
1635.	—	Council of New England dissolved.	—	—	—
1636.	—	Foundation of Rhode Island.	—	—	—
1637.	Hampden refuses to pay ship-money.	—	—	—	—
1638.	—	Foundation of Newhaven.	—	Dutch occupy Mauritius.	—
1639.	—	Foundation of Maine and New Hampshire.	Fort St. George (Madras) factory founded.	—	—
1640.	Portugal regains her independence.	Settlement of buccaneers in Honduras.	Hughli factory founded.	—	—
1641.	Irish rebellion.	—	—	—	—
1642.	—	—	—	Portuguese cede Gold Coast to Dutch.	Tasman sights New Zealand.
1642-49.	Civil war in England.	—	—	—	—
1643.	—	New England Federation formed.	—	—	—
1645.	—	—	—	Dutch occupy St. Helena.	—
1649.	Execution of Charles the First. Conquest of Ireland.	—	—	—	—
1649-53.	The Commonwealth.	—	—	—	—

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

A.D.	*Europe, etc.*	*America.*	*India and the East.*	*Africa.*	*Australasia.*
1650-52.	—	Civil War in Barbados.	—	—	—
1651.	Navigation Act (mainly directed against Dutch).	—	—	—	—
1652.	—	—	—	Dutch E.I.C. found settlement at Cape of Good Hope.	—
1652-4.	First Dutch War.	—	—	—	—
1653-9.	The Protectorate.	—	—	—	—
1655.	—	Conquest of Jamaica.	—	—	—
1656-68.	—	—	Bernier visits Mughal Empire.	—	—
1658.	—	—	Dutch get possession of Ceylon ports. Accession of Aurangzeb.	—	—
1660.	Restoration of Charles II. Navigation Act (by which England monopolized Colonial trade). Councils for Trade and Plantations appointed.	—	—	—	—
1661.	Personal rule of Louis XIV. begins.	—	Bombay acquired from the Portuguese.	—	—

1663.	—	Foundation of North Carolina.	—	—	—
1664.	—	Capture of New York from the Dutch.	Shivaji sacks Surat. French East and West India Company founded.	—	—
1665.	—	Foundation of New Jersey.	—	—	—
1665-7.	Second Dutch War.	—	—	—	—
1668.	—	La Salle's explorations in North America.	Bombay handed over to E.I.C.	—	—
1670.	—	Foundation of South Carolina. Incorporation of Hudson Bay Company.	—	—	—
1672.	—	Bahamas colonized. —	Aungier's Convention.	Incorporation of Royal African Company.	—
1672-4.	Third Dutch War.	—	—	—	—
1673.	—	Marquette reaches the Mississippi.	—	Capture of St. Helena.	—
1674.	Peace of Westminster.	Company of New France abolished.	—	—	—
1675.	—	—	Foundation of French factory at Chandernagore.	—	—
1680.	—	—	Death of Shivaji.	—	—
1682.	—	La Salle reaches mouth of Mississippi. Foundation of Pennsylvania.	—	—	—

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

A.D.	*Europe, etc.*	*America.*	*India and the East.*	*Africa.*	*Australasia.*
1683.	—	—	Captain Keigwin's rebellion at Bombay.	—	—
1684.	—	Charter of Massachusetts annulled. Bermudas become a Crown Colony.	—	—	—
1685.	Accession of James the Second. Revocation of Edict of Nantes.	Huguenot emigration to British North America.	—	—	—
1685-7.	—	—	War between E.I.C. and Aurangzeb.	—	—
1685-8.	—	Andros Governor in New England.	—	—	—
1688.	The Revolution.	—	—	Huguenot refugees settle at the Cape.	Dampier visits N.W. coast of Australia.
1689.	Accession of William the Third.	Massacre at Lachine.	—	—	—
1689-97.	War of the Grand Alliance.	—	—	—	—
1690, 1691.	Battle of the Boyne. —	— Plymouth colony absorbed by Massachusetts.	Calcutta founded. —	— —	— —
1694.	Foundation of the Bank of England.	—	Indian trade thrown open to all English subjects.	—	—

1697.	Treaty of Ryswick.	—	—	—	—
1698.	—	—	New East India Company founded.	—	—
1698-9.	—	Expeditions to Darien.	—	—	—
1699.	—	—	—	—	Dampier explores Western Australia.
1701.	Act of Settlement.	—	—	—	—
1702.	Accession of Anne.	—	—	—	—
1702-13.	War of the Spanish Succession.	—	—	—	—
1704.	Capture of Gibraltar and Minorca.	—	—	—	—
1707.	Union of England and Scotland.	—	Death of Aurangzeb.	—	—
1708.	—	—	Godolphin's award; foundation of United East India Company.	—	—
1712.	—	—	Beginning of decline of Mughal Empire.	—	—
1713.	Treaty of Utrecht.	—	—	—	—
1714.	Accession of George the First.	—	—	—	—
1715.	—	—	—	French occupy Mauritius.	—
1716-17.	—	—	Trade privileges obtained by E.I.C. from Mughal Empire.	—	—
1718.	—	Foundation of New Orleans. Bahama pirates suppressed.	—	—	—
1720.	South Sea Bubble.	—	—	—	—

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

A.D.	*Europe, etc.*	*America.*	*India and the East.*	*Africa.*	*Australasia.*
1727.	Accession of George the Second.	—	—	—	—
1730.	—	—	Dupleix made Governor of Chandernagore.	—	—
1732.	—	Foundation of Georgia.	—	—	—
1739.	War with Spain.	—	Nadir Shah invades India.	—	—
1740-4.	Anson's voyage.	—	—	—	—
1740-8.	War of the Austrian Succession.	—	—	—	—
1745.	—	War between English and French colonists; capture of Louisbourg.	—	—	—
1746.	—	—	Madras captured by the French.	—	—
1748.	Treaty of Aix la-Chapelle.	Louisbourg restored to the French.	Madras restored to the English.	—	—
1749.	—	English settlements in Ohio Valley.	—	—	—
1751.	—	—	Clive's defence of Arcot.	—	—
1752.	—	—	Trichinopoly given up by the French.	—	—
1754.	—	Foundation of Fort Duquesne. The Albany Congress.	Dupleix recalled by French Government.	—	—

1755.	—	Braddock's defeat. Fort Beauséjour captured from the French.	—	—	—
1756-63.	Seven Years' War.	—	—	—	—
1756.	French capture Minorca.	—	Siraj-ud-daula captures Calcutta.	—	—
1757.	—	—	Calcutta recaptured. Battle of Plassey.	—	—
1758.	—	Capture of Louisbourg and Fort Duquesne.	British occupy the Northern Sarkárs.	—	—
1759.	—	Wolfe captures Quebec.	—	—	—
1760.	Accession of George the Third.	Capture of Montreal.	Battle of Wandiwash.	—	—
1761.	—	—	British capture Pondicherry. Afghan invasion of Northern India. Haidar Ali becomes ruler of Mysore.	—	—
1763.	Peace of Paris.	Canada becomes British.	—	—	—
1764.	—	—	Battle of Baksár.	—	—
1765.	—	Stamp Act passed.	—	—	—
1766.	—	Stamp Act repealed.	—	—	—
1767.	—	Increased duties imposed on tea.	—	—	—
1767-9.	—	—	First Mysore War.	—	—
1770.	—	—	Famine in Bengal.	Bruce discovers source of the Blue Nile.	Cook lands at Botany Bay.
1772.	—	—	—	—	Bougainville visits Tasmania and New Zealand.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

A.D.	*Europe, etc.*	*America.*	*India and the East.*	*Africa.*	*Australasia.*
1773.	—	Boston "Tea Party."	Lord North's Regulating Act.	—	—
1774.	—	Quebec Act.	Warren Hastings becomes Governor-General.	—	—
1775-81.	—	War of Independence.	—		
1775-82.	—	—	First Maratha War.	—	—
1776.	Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations.*	Declaration of Independence. Unsuccessful American attack on Canada.	—	—	—
1777.	—	Burgoyne defeated at Saratoga.	—	—	Cook discovers Sandwich Islands.
1778-83.	War with France.	—	—	—	—
1778.	—	Americans join French.	French settlements captured by British.	—	—
1779.	—	—	—	First Kaffir War.	—
1779-81.	French unsuccessfully besiege Gibraltar.	—	—	—	—
1780.	The Armed Neutrality.	—	—	—	—
1780-4.	—	—	Second Mysore War.	—	—
1781.	—	Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.	—	—	—
1782.	—	—	British seize Trincomalee.	—	—

1783.	Treaty of Versailles.	England acknowledges independence of U.S.A. North-West Company founded.	French settlements restored to France.	—	—
1783-5.	—	Loyalists found Ontario, New Brunswick, etc.	—	—	—
1784.	—	—	Pitt's India Act.	—	—
1785.	—	—	Resignation of Warren Hastings.	—	—
1786.	—	—	Lord Cornwallis made Governor-General. Penang purchased by British.	Graaff Reinet founded.	—
1787.	—	U.S.A. Constitutional Convention.	—	Sierra Leone founded.	—
1788.	—	—	—	—	First convict settlement in Australia.
1789.	Beginning of French Revolution.	Washington elected first President of U.S.A.	—	—	*Bounty* mutineers occupy Pitcairn Island.
1790-2.	—	—	Third Mysore War.	—	—
1791.	—	Canadian Constitutional Act.	—	—	—
1792.	—	Kentucky joins U.S.A.	—	—	—
1792-3.	—	Mackenzie travels across Canada to Pacific.	—	—	—
1793.	—	—	Permanent revenue settlement of Bengal.	Second Kaffir War.	—
1793-1802.	War with France.	—	—	—	—

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

A.D.	*Europe, etc.*	*America.*	*India and the East.*	*Africa.*	*Australasia.*
1794.	—	Jay's treaty between Britain and U.S.A. Capture of St. Lucia.	—	—	—
1795.	—	—	British capture Ceylon. Acquittal of Warren Hastings.	British occupy the Cape.	First settlements in New Zealand.
1795-6.	—	—	—	Mungo Park's explorations in West Africa.	—
1796.	—	Tennessee joins U.S.A. Capture of British Guiana.	—	—	—
1797.	—	Capture of Trinidad.	—	—	—
1798.	Troubles in Ireland.	Many Irish emigrate to Canada.	Lord Wellesley made Governor-General.	—	Bass and Flinders circumnavigate Tasmania.
1799.	—	—	Fourth Mysore War; death of Tippu Sultan.	Third Kaffir War. London Missionary Society begins work in South Africa.	—
1800.	Capture of Malta. Union of Great Britain and Ireland.	U.S.A. Republican party come into power.	—	—	—
1802.	Treaty of Amiens.	Ohio joins U.S.A.	—	—	—
1802-3.	—	—	Second Maratha War.	—	—

1803-15.	Napoleonic War.	—	—	—	—
1803.	—	U.S.A. purchases Louisiana from French. Capture of Tobago.	Battle of Assaye.	Cape restored to the Dutch.	First Settlement in Tasmania.
1804.	Napoleon becomes Emperor of the French.	—	—	—	"Castle Hill Rising" in N.S.W.
1805.	Battle of Trafalgar.	—	—	—	—
1806.	—	—	—	Second British occupation of the Cape.	
1807.	—	Friction between U.S.A. and Britain.	Lord Minto made Governor-General.	—	—
1810.	—	—	—	British annex Mauritius and Seychelles.	—
1811.	—	—	British occupy Java.	Fourth Kaffir War.	—
1812.	—	Red River Settlement (Manitoba) founded.	—	—	—
1812-4	War between Britain and U.S.A.	—	—	—	—
1813.	—	—	Lord Hastings made Governor-General. E.I.C.'s trade monopoly in India abolished.	—	Exploration of Murray basin.
1814.	Treaty of Ghent.	—	—	—	Missionaries begin work in New Zealand.
1814-6.	—	—	War with Ghurkas.	—	—
1815.	Battle of Waterloo. Congress of Vienna.	—	Last native king of Ceylon deposed.	Occupation of Ascension.	

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

A.D.	*Europe, etc.*	*America.*	*India and the East.*	*Africa.*	*Australasia.*
1816.	—	—	—	Executions at Slachter's Nek. Bathurst (Gambia) founded.	—
1817-9.	—	—	Pindari and Maratha Wars.	—	—
1818.	Convention of London.	—	—	—	—
1818-9.	—	—	—	Fifth Kaffir War.	—
1819.	—	Florida ceded to U.S.A. by Spain.	Java restored to Dutch. Singapore founded.	—	—
1820.	Accession of George the Fourth.	—	—	—	—
1821.	—	Hudson Bay Co. and N.W. Co. unite.	—	—	—
1824.	—	—	—	Settlements in Natal.	French explorations in the Southern Ocean.
1824-6.	—	—	First Burmese War.	—	British occupy Melville Island.
1825.	—	—	Malacca acquired.	—	— New Zealand Colonization Company founded. Bushranging in Tasmania.
1826.	—	—	—	—	Settlement at Westernport.

1827.	—	First railroads in U.S.A.	—	—	Settlement at King George's Sound (Albany).
1828.	—	—	—	English judicial administration introduced at the Cape.	—
1829.	Catholic Emancipation Act. Stephenson's *Rocket*.	—	Abolition of *sati*.	—	Freemantle takes possession of Western Australia.
1830.	Accession of William the Fourth.	—	—	The Landers explore the Niger.	Sturt traces the Murray to its mouth. Wakefield's Colonization Society founded.
1831.	—	—	—	—	Settlement at Port Essington.
1832.	Reform Bill.	Falkland Islands occupied.	—	—	—
1833.	Abolition of slavery in British dominions. *Royal William*—first steamer to cross Atlantic.	—	Indian Civil Service thrown open to Indian subjects.	—	—
1834.	—	U.S.A. Indian Territory constituted.	—	Annexation of Socotra.	Settlement at Melbourne.
1835.	—	—	—	The Glenelg despatch.	—
1836.	—	—	—	The "Great Trek."	Settlement at Adelaide.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

A.D.	*Europe, etc.*	*America.*	*India and the East.*	*Africa.*	*Australasia.*
1837.	Accession of Queen Victoria. Hanover separated from England.	Papineau's and Mackenzie's rebellion in Canada. First railway in Canada.	—	Dingaan's massacres in Natal.	—
1838.	—	—	—	"Dingaan's Day" (December 16).	French New Zealand Company founded.
1838-42.	—	—	First Afghan War.	—	—
1839.	—	Durham's Report on Canada.	British occupation of Aden.	—	—
1840.	Penny postage in the United Kingdom.	Canadian Union Act.	—	Republic of Natal founded.	British emigration to New Zealand.
1841.	—	—	Sarawak founded by Raja Brooke. Hong-Kong ceded to Britain.	—	—
1842.	—	—	—	—	French occupy Tahiti.
1843.	—	—	Occupation of Sindh.	Natal becomes a British Colony.	—
1845.	—	Texas joins U.S.A.	—	—	Copper discovered in South Australia.
1845-6.	Great Irish famine.	—	First Sikh War.	—	—
1846.	Repeal of the Corn Laws.	Responsible government in Canada. Oregon Treaty.	—	Seventh Kaffir War.	—
1847.	—	Mormons emigrate to Utah.	—	—	—

1847-8.	—	War between U.S.A. and Mexico.	—	—	—
1848.	—	—	—	Orange River district annexed.	—
1848-9.	—	—	Second Sikh War.	—	—
1849.	Navigation Acts finally repealed.	Gold discovered in California.	—	—	—
1850.	—	California joins U.S.A.	—	Eighth Kaffir War. Danish settlements in West Africa bought by Britain.	Victoria separated from N.S.W. Proposals for a "General Assembly" of Australia.
1851.	—	—	—	—	Gold discovered in Victoria.
1852.	—	—	Second Burmese War.	South African Republic recognized.	—
1853.	—	—	Renewal of charter of E.I.C. Annexation of Nagpur territories. First Indian railway.	—	French occupy New Caledonia.
1854.	—	—	Annexation of Kuria Muria Islands.	Orange Free State recognized. Representative government in Cape Colony.	"Eureka Stockade" rebellion.
1854-6.	Crimean War.	—	—	—	—
1856.	—	—	Annexation of Oudh.	—	—
1857.	—	—	Annexation of Perim. Indian Mutiny.	—	—
1858.	—	Gold discovered in British Columbia.	End of E.I.C.; "Act for the Better Government of India."	Grey's proposals for South African Federation.	—

Public Libraries. 385

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

A.D.	*Europe, etc.*	*America.*	*India and the East.*	*Africa.*	*Australasia.*
1859.	—	Canadian Customs Act (protectionist).	—	—	Queensland becomes a separate colony.
1861.	—	Lincoln elected President of U.S.A.	India Councils Act.	Lagos ceded to Britain.	Burke crosses Australia from south to north.
1861-5.	—	American Civil War.	—	—	—
1862.	Cotton famine in Lancashire.	—	—	—	—
1864-5.	—	—	—	—	Maori Wars.
1865.	—	Assassination of Lincoln.	—	—	—
1866.	—	Fenian raids from U.S.A. into Canada.	—	—	—
1867.	—	Federation of the Dominion of Canada.	Straits Settlements become a Crown Colony.	Diamonds discovered in South Africa.	—
1869.	—	Union Pacific Railroad completed. U.S.A. acquires Alaska. Hudson Bay Co.'s government rights abolished.	—	Opening of Suez Canal.	—
1870.	Franco - Prussian War.	Manitoba becomes a self-governing province. Riel's revolt.	—	—	—

1871.	—	British Columbia joins Dominion of Canada. Treaty of Washington.	—	—	—	
1872.	—	Geneva award on *Alabama* question.	—	—	Overland telegraph completed.	
1873.	—	Prince Edward Island joins Dominion of Canada.	—	—	—	
1873-4.	—	—	—	Ashantee War.	—	
1874.	—	—	—	—	Annexation of Fiji.	
1875.	—	—	—	Carnarvon resumes Grey's proposals for South African federation.	—	
1876.	—	—	Occupation of Quetta.	Establishment of dual control in Egypt.	Last pure-blooded Tasmanian died.	
1877.	—	—	Darbár—Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India.	Annexation of Transvaal.	—	
1878.	—	—	Cyprus leased to Britain.	Ninth Kaffir War.	—	
1878-80.	—	—	Second Afghan War.	—	—	
1879.	—	—	—	Zulu War—Rorke's Drift.	—	
1880.	—	—	—	Transvaal rebellion.	—	
1881.	—	—	British North Borneo Company chartered.	Majuba; independence of Transvaal restored. Outbreak of Mahdi's revolt in Sudan.	—	
1882.	—	—	—	Egyptian War; dual control abolished.	—	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

A.D.	*Europe, etc.*	*America.*	*India and the East.*	*Africa.*	*Australasia.*
1883.	—	—	—	Election of President Kruger.	Britain annexes part of New Guinea.
1884.	Berlin Conference. Reform Act.	—	—	German activity in Zanzibar. Germany annexes Togoland and Cameroons. British Somaliland acquired.	German occupation of New Guinea
1885.	—	C.P.R. completed.	Third Burmese War. First meeting of Indian National Congress.	Bechuanaland annexed. Fall of Khartoum; death of Gordon.	—
1886.	—	—	Annexation of Upper Burma.	Royal Niger Company founded. Gold discovered in Transvaal. Anglo - German agreement in East Africa.	—
1888.	—	—	Sarawak and Brunei placed under British protection.	Mashonaland and Matabeleland declared British sphere of influence. British East Africa Company chartered.	—

1890.	—	—	—	Rhodes becomes Prime Minister of Cape Colony. Further Anglo German agreement in Africa.	—
1891.	—	—	—	Anglo - Portuguese Convention *re* Africa.	—
1892.	—	—	Indian Councils Act.	—	Gold discovered in Western Australia.
1893.	—	—	—	Matabele War.	Acquisition of Solomon and Gilbert Islands.
1894.	—	—	—	Annexation of Pondoland. Uganda Protectorate proclaimed.	—
1895.	Dispute between Britain and U.S.A. over Venezuela boundary.	—	—	Jameson Raid.	—
1896.	—	—	—	East Africa Protectorate proclaimed.	—
1896-7.	—	—	Indian Famine.	—	—
1896-8.	—	—	—	Kitchener's campaigns in the Sudan.	—
1897.	Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. Colonial Conference.	—	—	—	—
1898.	—	War between U.S.A. and Spain. U.S.A. receives Porto Rico.	U.S.A. receives Philippines. Wei-hai-wei leased to Britain.	—	U.S.A. annexes Hawaii.

-386-

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (*continued*)

A.D.	*Europe, etc.*	*America.*	*India and the East.*	*Africa.*	*Australasia.*
1899-1900.	—	—	Indian Famine.	—	—
1899-1902.	—	—	—	Boer War.	—
1900.	—	—	—	Spion Kop; Relief of Ladysmith and Mafeking.	Tonga placed under British protection. Germans acquire Samoa.
1901.	Accession of Edward the Seventh.	—	Creation of North-West Frontier Province.	Ashantee territory annexed.	Commonwealth of Australia formed.
1903.	—	Alaskan boundary decision.	Darbár.	—	—
1904.	—	—	—	Anglo-French agreement about Egypt.	—
1904-5.	—	—	Russo - Japanese War.	—	—
1905.	Anglo-Japanese Alliance.	Saskatchewan and Alberta become separate provinces.	Partition of Bengal.	—	—
1906.	—	—	—	Responsible government granted to Transvaal.	—
1907.	Anglo-Russian agreement.	—	Anglo-Russian Convention settles N.W. frontier.	Responsible government granted to Orange River Colony.	—
1908.	The *Entente Cordiale.*	—	Formation of Muslim League.	—	—
1909.	—	—	Morley-Minto reforms.	—	—

1910.	Accession of George the Fifth.	—	—	Union of South Africa.	—
1911.	—	—	Darbár presided over by King-Emperor. Partition of Bengal reversed.	—	—
1911-13.	Balkan Wars.	—	—	—	—
1913.	—	Woodrow Wilson elected President of U.S.A.	—	—	—
1914-18.	The Great War.	—	—	—	—
1914.	—	Grand Trunk Pacific Railroad completed. Panama Canal completed.	Cyprus proclaimed British protectorate.	Egypt proclaimed British protectorate.	Australian troops occupy Samoa and German New Guinea.
1915.	Neuve Chapelle.	Canadian Northern Railway completed.	—	Fighting in German African colonies.	—
1916.	Evacuation of Gallipoli.	—	—	—	—
1917.	Russian Revolution.	U.S.A. purchases Danish West Indies. U.S.A. joins Allies.	Capture of Baghdad. Surrender of Jerusalem.	—	Railway connection between Eastern and Western Australia completed.
1918.	Collapse of Russia. Armistice (Nov. 11).	—	Discussion of Montagu - Chelmsford Report.	—	—
1919.	Peace of Versailles.	—	Third Afghan War. Persia comes under British influence. Montagu Bill passed.	—	Proposal to entrust New Guinea to Australia and Samoa to New Zealand.

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Islington
Public
Libraries.

INDEX

Acadia, 37, 51, 57-8, 62
Adams, John, 135-6
Adams, John Quincy, 146, 156
Adelaide, 323, 335
Aden, 224, 246, 355-6
Afghans, 197, 208; wars with, 224-5, 236-7
Africa, early explorations of, 254-9; geography of, 254-6
Africander Bond, 285-7
African Lakes Company, 288
Ahmad Shah, 208
Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of, 59, 200
Akaroa, 307
Akbar, 47
Alabama, 157
Alabama (commerce destroyer), 179
Alaska, acquisition of, by U.S.A., 182
Alaskan boundary decision, 117
Albany Congress, 60-1
Albany (King George's Sound), 320-1
Alberta, 113
Albuquerque, 46
Aldabra Islands, 356
Amatongaland, 287
Amboyna, Massacre of, 45
American Revolution, the, 70-5
"American System," the, 152
Amherst, Lord, 64
Amiens, Peace of, 221, 267, 355
Andros, Sir Edmund, 35
Angad (Sepoy), 234
Anglo-Portuguese Convention, 288
Arab traders (Africa), 300; (Ceylon), 354
Arakan, 223, 245
Arcot, 204
Armada, the, 17
Army, the Indian, 213, 233, 236
Articles of Confederation (U.S.A.), 128
Asaf Jah, 194, 201-3
Ascension, 360
Ashantees, 260-1
Ashley, Sir Anthony (Earl of Shaftesbury), 32, 33
Assam, 223, 244
Assaye, Battle of, 219
Assiento, the, 51, 52, 258
Assigned Territories (India), 228
Auckland, Lord, 232
Aungier's Convention, 188
Aurangzeb, 50, 189, 192-3
Australia, early history of, 246, 308-12
Australian flora and fauna, 310
Austrian Succession, War of, 58-9, 199

Baber, 47
Baffin, 40
Bahadur Shah I., 193
Bahamas, 42
Baksár, Battle of, 209
Balance of trade, 30
Ballarat, 331-2
Baltimore, Lord, 23-4
Banks, Sir Joseph, 311
Bantu, 263, 274
Banyans, 49
Barbados, 41, 359
Barkly, Sir Henry, 282
Bass, 314
Basutoland, 286, 295
Basutos, 275-6, 281
Bathurst (Gambia), 259; (N.S.W.), 330-1
Batman, John, 324, 328
Baudin, Nicholas, 315-6
Bechuanaland, 286, 288, 295
Bendigo, 331
Bengal, 195, 205-7, 209, 213, 242, 244
Bentinck, Lord William, 230, 233
Berar, 229
Berkeley, 34
Bermudas, the, 359
Bernier, François, 195
Best, Captain, 47
Bezuidenhout, 270

Bhonslê, 197, 222, 228
Bhopal, 221
Bibliography, 392
Bienville, 57, 60
Bihar, 244
Bikanir, Maharaja of, 244
Birkenhead (transport), 277
" Black Circuit," the, 269
' Black Line," the, 328
Blaine-Bond Treaty, 103
Blauwberg, Battle of, 267
Blaxland, Gregory, 318
Bloemfontein, 276 ; Convention of, 282
Bolshevism, 225, 237
Bokhara, 8
Bombay, 48, 188, 245
Boomplaats, Battle of, 276
Borden, Robert L., 118, 119
Borneo, 357-8
Boston, 26, 54
Botany Bay, 311-12
Botha, General, 292-4
Bougainville, 315
Bounty, mutiny of, 361
Bouquet, Colonel, 69
Bourassa, Henri, 118
Bourdonnais, De la, 199
Braddock, General, 62
Bradford, William, 25
Bradstreet, General, 64
Brady, Matthew, 328
Brand, President, 282-3
British Central Africa, 289
British Columbia, 105-6, 109
British East Africa, 300
British Guiana, 180, 360
British Honduras, 42
British Kaffararia, 277-8
British North America Act, 98-9
British North Borneo, 358
British Somaliland, 356
British South Africa Company, 288-9
Broach, 219
Brooke, Raja, 358
Brown, George, 98
Brown, John, 158
Brunei, 358
Bryan, W. J., 175, 182
Buccaneering in West Indies, 43
Buller, General, 292
Buluwayo, 289
Bundelkhand, 219
Burgers, President, 283
Burgoyne, General, 75, 123
Burleigh, 15
Burmese Wars, 223-4, 227, 237, 245-6
Bushmen, 263
Bushrangers, 327-8
Bussy, 203, 207

Cables, submarine, 334-5
Cabot, John, 4 ; Sebastian, 4, 7
Calcutta, 192, 206-7, 214, 245
California, 155, 157
Calvert, Sir George, 23
Cam, Diego, 257
Cameroons, 261
Canadian Northern Railway, 115
Canadian Pacific Railway, 105-6, 108-10
Canberra, 344
Canning, Lord, 235, 246
Cape Breton Island, 58
Cape Colony, 277-80, 282, 286, 293
Cape of Good Hope, 198, 220
Carleton, Sir Guy (Lord Dorchester), 67, 74, 79-80
Carnarvon, Lord, 283-5
Carnegie, Andrew, 167
Carolinas, the, 33-4, 56 ; North, 132, 164 ; South, 152, 159
Carteret, 34
Cartier, Jacques, 37
Cathay, 4, 7 ; Company of, 9
Cawnpore, massacres at, 234
Ceylon, 18, 221, 354-5
Chagos Islands, 356
Chamberlain, Joseph, 291
Champlain, Samuel de, 37
Chancellor, Richard, 7-8
Chanda Saheb, 204
Chandernagore, 50, 198, 206
Charles I., 27, 29 ; Charles II., 31-2, 34, 43, 48
Charleston, 33, 54
Charter Acts (India), 231-2
Chatham, 72, 74-5
Chelmsford, Lord, 242, 247, 284
Cherokees, 172
Child, Sir Josiah, 199
China, relations with, 4, 357, 358
Chinese Labour (Australia), 338, 346 ; (Malaya), 357 ; (South Africa), 293
Christian Science, 178
Chronological Table, 363
Church in U.S.A., the, 177-8
Circars. *See* Sarkárs
Circumnavigation, Drake's, 15-17 ; Steine's, 317
Civil Service (India), 232
Civil War (U.S.A.), 162-4, 239, 336

"Clay-belt," the, 115
Clay, Henry, 152, 157
Clergy Reserves (Canada), 86
Cleveland, Grover, 175
Clive, Robert, 200-1, 204, 209-10
Coaling stations, 352, 355, 360
Cocos Islands, 356
Colbert, 37, 50, 198
"Collectors" (E.I.C.), 214
Colonial Conference (1897), 118
Columbus, 3-4, 41
Commonwealth of Australia, foundation of, 342-4
Companies, trading, 8-9, 19
Company of Cathay, the, 9; of New France, the, 37-8
Confederate States of America, 160-4
Confederation of Canada, 97-100
Connecticut, 27
Constitution of Australian Commonwealth, 342; of Canada, 100; of Union of South Africa, 294-5; of U.S.A., 131-2, 136-7, 141, 165-6
Constitutional Act (Canada), 80-1, 86
Convention of London, 285: of Pretoria, 284; of 1787 (U.S.A.), 130-2
Convicts, transportation of (to America), 10, 22, 41, 55, 311; (to Australia), 312, 320, 322, 329; (to the Cape), 279
Cook, Captain, 310-11
Cook Islands, 362
Coolgardie, 332
Corduroy roads, 91
Cormantine, 260
Cornwallis, Lord, 75, 216
Coromandel Coast, 201
Cotton, 33, 44, 55, 150, 239, 302
Council for Trade and Plantations, 32; of New England, 25-7
Councils Act (India), 236, 240
"Country Powers" (India), 200
"Courier de bois," 56
Cromer, Lord, 305
Cromwell, Oliver, 26, 33, 42
Cronje, General, 292
Cuba, 41, 180, 182
Cunard, Samuel, 90
Curzon, Lord, 237, 242, 244, 247
Customs Act (Canada), 89
Cuttack. *See* Katak
"Cutting the painter," 346, 350
Cyprus, 354

Dalhousie, Lord, 223, 226, 229, 232-3
D'Almeida, Francisco, 264
Dampier, William, 43, 310
Danish settlements, 44, 182, 258
Darbars, 244
Darien Scheme, the, 42
Darwin, 335, 338
Davis, Jefferson, 160; John, 10, 360
Day, Sir Francis, 48-9
Deccan, the, 192, 201-4, 210
Declaration of Independence, 75-6, 121-2
Delaware, 33, 159
Delhi, 244-5; siege of, 233-4
Democratic Party (U.S.A.), 152, 158 175, 182
D'Entrecasteaux, 315
Des Brosses, 315
Dewey, Admiral, 181
Diamonds in South Africa, 280, 282-3
Diaz, Bartholomew, 263; Diniz, 257
Dingaan, 274
Dinwiddie, Governor, 60
Disraeli, 350-1
Diwani, the, 195, 209
Dominion of Canada, formation of, 99-100
Dominion's Royal Commission, 334
Dost Muhammad, 224-5
Downton, Nicholas, 47
Drake, Francis, 13, 15-17, 264
Drakensberg, 274
Dred Scott decision (U.S.A.), 158
Dupleix, 50, 199-201, 207
Duquesne, Governor, 60
D'Urban, Sir Benjamin, 272, 277
Durham's Report on Canada, 87-8, 230
D'Urville, 320
Dutch in Africa, 44, 258, 260; in America, 27-8, 33; in Australasia, 308, 345; in Ceylon, 220, 354; in East Indies, 18, 45-6, 186, 245, 264-7; naval supremacy of, 29-30; wars with, 31, 33
Dwarka Nath Tagore, 231
Dyaks, 357

East India Company, 8, 18, 45, 48, 50-1, 187-192, 195, 198-9, 206-7, 209-14, 216-7, 219, 221, 231-2, 234-5, 356
East Indies, British in, 45, 217, 220
Eddy, Mary Baker, 178
Education (in India), 231, 239-40; (in U.S.A.), 176-7
Egypt, 246, 301-6
Elgin, Lord, 88
Elizabeth, Queen, 8, 11, 15, 17

Elliot, General, 353
Elmina, 260
Elphinstone, Mountstuart, 230
Emerson, 159-60
Emigration (to Australia), 311-13, 338; (to Canada), 77-8, 82, 91, 112; (to New Zealand), 339; (to South Africa), 265, 270, 280, 298; (to U.S.A.), 176
"Enumerated goods," 31
Eureka Stockade, 331-2

Falkland Islands, 360
"Family Compact," the, 83, 86
Famines, Indian, 238-9
Farmán, 199, 207, 209
Farmers' Alliance, the, 174-5
Federalist Party (U.S.A.), 134, 136
Fiji, 344, 362
Finance, Indian, 238
Fisheries, 5, 54, 101-3, 107, 127
Fitch, Ralph, 18
Flinders, 311, 314, 337
Florida, 11, 36, 57, 66, 141, 153
Franklin, Benjamin, 61
Freetown (Sierra Leone), 260
Freemantle, Captain, 320
French in Africa, 259-62, 304-5; in Australasia, 315-6, 320, 344, 361; in India, 50-1, 198, 204, 207, 214-5, 218-9, 237, 245, 354, 356; in New Zealand, 326-7; in North America, 11, 36-40, 55-67, 102
Frere, Sir Bartle, 284
Frobisher, Martin, 9
Frontenac, 38
Fur trade in North America, 37, 39, 40, 54, 56, 92-3

Gage, General, 72
Gama, Vasco da, 3, 257, 263
Gambia, 259, 262
Geneva award, 179
Geographical position of Britain, 2
Geographical unity of British Empire, 352
Geography of Africa, 254-6, 298; of Australia, 318; of Deccan, 201; of India, 46, 245
Georgia, 36, 55, 164
Germans in Africa, 44, 258, 286, 299; in Australasia, 342; in North America, 35, 176; in South Africa, 265, 278, 280
Gettysburg, Battle of, 163
Ghent, Treaty of, 85, 146
Gibraltar, 51, 353
Gilbert Islands, 361
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 10
Gladstone, Lord, 294; W. E., 179, 304
Glenelg, Lord, 273
Goa, 46-7
Godolphin's Award, 189
Gold Coast, 260
Gold in Australia, 330-2; in British Columbia, 96; in California, 157; in New Guinea, 345; in New Zealand, 332, 339; in South Africa, 287, 299
Gompers, Samuel, 168
Gordon, General, 304
Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, 27
Graaff Reinet, 266
Grahamstown, 270
Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, 113-6
Granger Movement, the, 174
Grant, Ulysses S., 162-4
Great Banks Fishery, 5, 11, 127
Great War, part played by Australasia, 347; by Canada, 119-20; by India, 228, 243-4; by South Africa, 299; by U.S.A., 183-4
Grenada, 41
Grenville, Sir Richard, 11, 17
Grey, Sir George, 278, 281, 283, 323, 327, 339, 344
Grijalva, 309
Griquas, 275, 282
Growth of British India, 249-53
Guam, 181
Guiana, 12, 360
Gurkhas, 221, 233

Haidar Ali, 210, 214-15
Haidarabad, 228, 233
Halifax (Nova Scotia), 59
Hamilton, Alexander, 132-4, 137; Surgeon, 198
Hampton Court Conference, the, 24
Hansa Towns, 3, 8
Hargraves, Edward, 330
Harriot, 12
Hastings, Lord, 217, 221-2; Warren, 211, 213-14, 216
"Hau-Haus" (Maori tribe), 338-9
Havelock, Sir Henry, 234
Hawaii, 182
Hawkins, John, 13, 258; William, 258
Hazára, 225
Heath, Sir Robert, 33

Hejáz, King of the, 246
Heligoland, 298
Henry VII., 2-4 ; Henry VIII., 6
Henry the Navigator, Prince, 257
Hispaniola, 13, 41-2
Historical Unity of British Empire, 350-1
Hobart, 317
Hobson, Captain, 326-7
Hofmeyr, Jan, 285-7, 290, 293
Holkar, 197, 222
Honduras, British, 42
Hong-Kong, 246, 358
Hore, 5, 7
Hottentots, 263-4
Howe, Joseph, 87, 100-1
Hudson, 28, 40
Hudson Bay Company, 40, 92, 94, 96, 104, 156
Huguenots in North America, 11, 39, 56 ; in South Africa, 265

Imperial Federation, 351
Independence, War of, 72-4 ; Declaration of, 75-6, 121-2
India Act, 216
India, early relations with, 17-19, 47-51, 257 ; geographical unity of, 46
Indian immigrants into British Colonies, 242, 281, 298, 346, 356, 361
Indian National Congress, 241-2
Indians, North American, 57, 60-1, 64, 78, 150, 153, 172
Industrialism in U.S.A., 167-9
Inquisition, the, 14
Interlopers, 44, 189
Iroquois, 57-8, 60-1, 78
Irrigation (Australia) 348; (Egypt), 305 ; (India), 232
Isandhlwana, Battle of, 284
Ismail, Khedive, 302-4
Ivan the Terrible, 7-8

Jackson, Andrew, 145, 151-3, 172
Jalalabad, retreat to, 224
Jamaica, 42-3
James I., 20, 24, 37, 45, 47 ; James II., 33, 35
Jameson, Dr., 290, 293 ; Jameson Raid, 288, 290
Jamestown, 21
Java, 220, 357
Jay's Treaty, 82, 135
Jefferson, Thomas, 132-4, 136-8, 140-1, 143-4
Jehangir, 47
Jenkinson, Anthony, 8
Jervis, Admiral, 359
Jesuits, the, in Canada, 38-9
Johannesburg, 287
Johnson, Andrew, 165
Johnston, Sir Harry, 288, 300
Joint Stock Companies, 8
Jullundur Doab, 225
Jute, 239

Kabul, 192, 224, 236
Kaffir Wars, 272, 277-8
Kalát, 236
Kalgoorlie, 332
Kanakas, 336, 344, 346, 362
Kandahár, march to, 236
Kandy, 220, 355
Kangaroo Island, 314, 323
Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 158-9
Karachi, 224
Karnatik, 203-4, 210
Kashmir, 225
Kasimbazár, 206
Katak, 219
Keigwin's Rebellion, 189
Kentucky, 136, 140, 159
Ketshwayo, 284
Kimberley, 282
King, Dick, 275
"King" Maoris, 338-9
Kitchener, Lord, 292, 304
"Knights of Labour," 168
Koh-i-nur diamond, 198
Kok, Adam, 275
Konkan, 201
Kruger, President, 286-7, 290-1
Kuria Muria Islands, 356

Labrador, 4, 101
Labuan, 358
Lachine, massacre of, 58
Lagos, 261
Lally, 200, 207
Lalor, Peter, 332
Lancaster, Sir James, 18
La Perouse, 315
Lapse, doctrine of, 228
La Salle, 38, 55, 56, 59
Laurier, Sir Wilfrid, 112, 118
Lawrence, Sir Henry, 234 ; Stringer, 204
Le Corre, Alexandre, 316
Lee, Robert E., 162-4
Leeward Islands, 41
Legislative Councils (India), 235

Levant, trade with the, 3
Lincoln, Abraham, 159, 165
Lobengula, 288
Local self-government in India, 240
Locke's Constitution for the Carolinas, 34
Lok, 258
London, Convention of, 94, 107
London Missionary Society, 269
Louisbourg, 58-9, 64
Louisiana, 38, 55, 140-1, 150
Loyalists, American, 75-9, 124, 126, 312
Lucknow, siege of, 234
Lugard, Sir F., 262, 300
Lumber, 54-5, 92, 104
Lytton, Lord, 244, 247

Macarthur, John, 317
Macaulay, 230, 260
Macdonald, Sir John, 97, 106, 108, 110, 117
Mackenzie, Alexander, 93
Madison, James, 130, 136, 144-6
Madras, 48, 199, 200
Mafeking, relief of, 292
Magnus Intercursus, 2
Mahdi, the, 304
Maine, 27
Maine (U.S. battleship), 181
Majuba, Battle of, 284
Malabar Coast, 201
Malacca, 18, 357
Malaya, British possessions in, 220, 356-7
Malays on Australian coast, 337
Malta, 346, 353-4
Malwa, 196-7
Manitoba, 94, 105, 110-12
Manoa, 12
Maoris, 315, 325-7; wars with, 338-9
Marathas, 50, 189, 196-7, 208, 210, 215, 221; wars with, 215, 219, 222
Marco Polo, 4
Marion, 315
Marquette, 38, 55
Maryland, 23-4, 139, 159
Mashonaland, 288-9
Mason, John, 27
Massachusetts, 26-7, 29, 35, 54, 59, 71-2
Masulipatam, 48, 201
Matabele, 274, 289; Matabeleland, 287
Mauritius, 198, 220, 308, 315-6, 327, 356
Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, 179
McIlwraith, Sir Thomas, 345
McKinley, William, 175
Meat, trade in, 339
Mediterranean trade, 3, 355; British possessions in, 353-4
Melbourne, 324, 330-1, 335, 344
Melville Island, 320-1
Mercantile System, the, 29-30
Merchant Adventurers, 1, 3, 8
Merchants of the Staple, 1
Mesopotamia, 246
Metcalfe, Sir Charles, 230
Mexico and U.S.A., 153-5, 179, 183
"Middle Passage," the, 44
Milner, Lord, 291, 293
Mineral wealth of Australia, 323, 330-2, 336, 349; of Canada, 116; of South Africa, 289. *See also* Gold, etc.
Minorca, 51
Minto, Lord, 217, 219, 240, 247
Mir Jaafar, 206-7
Mir Kasim, 207
Missionaries in New Zealand, 326; in South Africa, 269, 273
Mississippi, exploration of, 38; settlement of Mississippi Valley, 140, 149
Missouri Compromise, 150, 157-8; State, 150, 159
Moffat Treaty, 288
Molteno, Sir John, 279
Moluccas, 45
Monarchy, relation of British Empire to the, 244, 351
Monroe, James, 135, 141, 146, 148; Monroe Doctrine, 148, 179-81, 345
Monsoons, 238
Montagu, E. S., 241
Montcalm, 62, 65
Morgan, Henry, 43
Morley-Minto Reforms, 240
Mormons, the, 178
Moselikatse, 274
Moshesh, 275, 282
Mughal Empire, the, 47, 189-200, 207, 212, 219
Muhammad Ali, 204
Muhammadans in India, 237-8, 242-3
Munro, Sir Thomas, 230
Murray, General, 65, 67
Muscovy Company, the, 8
Muslim League, the, 242

Mutiny, the Indian, 233-5
Mysore, 203, 210, 229; wars with, 215, 219, 230

Nachtigall, Dr., 261
Nadir Shah, 197-8, 208
Nagpur, 222, 228
Nana Farnavis, 216
Nana Sahib, 234
Napier, Sir Charles, 225
Napoleon, 141-2, 144, 357, 360
Natal, 274-5, 280-1, 294, 298
Nationalist Party in Egypt, 306; in India, 241-2
Navigation Act (1485), 2; (1651), 30-31; (1660), 31, 42 n., 70
Navy, the, 1, 2, 6-7, 29, 31, 351-2; Australian, 347; Canadian, 119; of U.S.A., 181
Nawáb, meaning of term, 200 n.; Nawábi, 214
Nawáb Vizier, 209, 214
Nazars, 212
Negroes, progress of, in U.S.A., 166
Nepal, 233
New Albion, 16
New Amsterdam, 28
New Brunswick, 77, 79
New Caledonia, 344
New England Federation, 29
Newfoundland, 4, 10, 23, 101-4; Fisheries, 5, 58, 101-3, 107
New Guinea, 307, 342, 345, 347, 362
New Hampshire, 27
Newhaven, 27
New Hebrides, 362
New Jersey, 34
New Orleans, 57, 140, 163
New South Wales, 311-19, 325, 330, 333, 335, 337, 340, 349
New York, 32-3
New Zealand, 307, 309, 311, 314-5, 325-7, 332, 342, 344-5, 347, 360
Nicaragua, 182
Nigeria, 261-2
Nizam's dynasty, 194, 203, 210, 215, 218, 229
Nizam-ul-Mulk, 194, 196
Nombre de Dios, 15
Norfolk Island, 313, 315, 317, 362
Norsemen, the, 24
North America, trade with, 21, 27-8, 54
North-East Passage, 7-8
Northern Territory of Australia, 337-8, 346
North-West Company, 92, 94
North-West Frontier, 225, 237
North-West Passage, 7, 9-11, 16
Nova Scotia, 37, 51, 77, 79
Nyassaland, 288-9

Oglethorpe, General, 36, 55
Ohio State, 140; settlements in Ohio Valley, 59
Omdurman, Battle of, 305
Ontario, 78
Orange Free State, 275-6, 281-3, 287
"Ordinance of Nullification," 151-2
Oregon, 154-7; Oregon Treaty, 96
Oudh, 194, 209, 214, 218, 222, 229, 233-4

Pacific, British possessions in, 342, 344, 362
Palestine, 246
Palmerston, Lord, 223-4, 238
Panama Canal, 182-3, 334, 345, 360
Panchayats, 240
Panipat, Battle of, 208
Panjab, 208, 220, 222, 224, 225-7, 232-3, 245
Papineau, 85, 87
Papua, 342
Parganas, the Twenty-four, 207
Paris, Treaty of, 66, 210
Park, Mungo, 261
Patronage in E.I.C., 211
Peel, Thomas, 321
Pemba, 300
Penang, 357
Penn, Admiral, 34, 42; William, 34-5
Pennsylvania, 34-5
Pensacola, 57
Pepperell, William, 59
Perim, 356
Permanent Land Revenue Settlement (India), 216-17, 232
Péron, 316
Persia, relations with, 8, 48, 197, 220 224-6
Peshwa, 196, 215-6, 219, 222, 234
Peters, Dr. Karl, 300
Philadelphia, 35, 54
Philippines, 181
Phillip, Arthur, 312-13
Pietermaritzburg, 275
Pilgrim Fathers, the, 24-5
Pindaris, 221
Pipli, 48
"Pirate Patriots," 14
Pitcairn Island, 361

Pitt, William, 64
Plassey, Battle of, 195, 207
Plymouth Colony, the, 25
Polk, James K., 155-6
Pondicherri, 50, 198-9, 207-8, 218
Pondoland, 278
Pontiac, 69
Pope, relations with the, 6
Port Dalrymple, 317
Port Darwin. *See* Darwin
Port Essington, 320, 337
Port Phillip, 316, 324
Port Royal (Annapolis), 37, 58
Porto Rico, 181
Portuguese in Africa, 257-8, 260, 264, 288, 299; in Australasia, 308-9; in the Indies, 3, 6, 9, 18, 45-6, 245, 354
Presidency (India), 213
Presidents of U.S.A., list of, 185
Pretoria, Convention of, 284
Pretorius, Andries, 275
Proprietor (of a colony), 23
Protected States, 229-30
Public Works Department (India), 232
Puritanism, 24-6, 39, 187

Quakers in North America, 26, 34-5
Quebec, 37, 65, 74
Quebec Act, 67, 72; Conference, 98
Queensland, 320, 332, 336-7, 344
Quetta, 236

Raffles, Sir Stamford, 357
Railways in Africa, 260-1, 289, 299, 301-2; in Australia, 322, 338, 341; in Canada, 91, 101, 105-6, 108-10, 113-16; in India, 232; in Newfoundland, 103; in U.S.A., 173-4
Rajputs, 195-6, 222
Ralegh, Sir Walter, 11-2
Ram Ghopal Ghose, 231
Ram Mohan Roy, 231
Rangoon, 227
Ranjit Singh, 196, 220, 224-5
Rebellion in Canada, 86-7
Regulated Companies, 8, 20
Regulating Act (India), 211, 213
Religious motives for colonization, 24-5, 187
Renaissance, geographical results of, 5-6
Representative government in American colonies, 22-3; in India, 240-1; in South Africa, 278-9
"Republic of Victoria," 332
Republican Party (U.S.A.), 134, 136-8, 144, 146-8, 159, 175. *See note on p.* 185
Resident, British, 221
Retief, Pieter, 274
Revenue Acts, 71-2
"Revolution of 1800" (U.S.A.), 137
Rhode Island, 27, 132
Rhodes, Cecil, 287-9
Rhodesia, 263, 289-90
Richelieu, 37
Richmond (Virginia), 163-4
Riebeck, Jan van, 264-5
Riel, Louis, 105, 110-11
Right of Search, 83, 142-3
Ripon, Lord, 240-1, 247
Roanoke, 11, 17
Roberts, Lord, 236, 292
Rockfeller, John D., 167
Roe, Sir Thomas, 47
Rohilkhand, 208-9
Roman-Dutch law, 355
Roosevelt, Theodore, 168-9, 182-3
Rorke's Drift, defence of, 284
Royal African Company, 44, 258
Royal Niger Company, 261
Rum, 54, 71
Rupee, 212
Rupertsland, 40, 97
Russia, relations with, 7-8, 224-5, 236-7, 358
Russo-Japanese War, 238
Rut, John, 5, 7
Ryot, Ryotwari, 232
Ryswick, Treaty of, 51

Saādat Khan, 194
Safavid Empire, 197
Salbai, Treaty of, 215
Samoa, 345, 362
Sand River Convention, 276, 284
San Jacinto, Battle of, 154
San Juan de Ulua, 13
Santo Domingo, 182
Sarawak, 358
Sarkārs, Northern, 201, 204, 208, 210
Saskatchewan, 110, 113
Sati, 230
Scottish attempts at colonization, 37, 42
Sealing (Australia), 317, 319
Sea-power, 7, 17, 19, 31-2, 36, 51-2, 244-5, 351-2
"Sectional Zones" (U.S.A.), 150
Seeley, Sir J. R., 351
Selborne, Lord, 294

Selkirk, Lord, 94
Sepoys, 204, 233
Seringapatam, capture of, 219
Seven Years' War, the, 62, 69
Seychelles, 356
Shaftesbury, Earl of, 32-3
Shah Shuja, 224-5
Shepstone, Sir Theophilus, 284
Ship-money, 29
Shirley, Governor, 58-9
Shivaji, 196
Sierra Leone, 259-60
Sikhs, 193, 196, 208, 220, 225-7, 233
Simcoe, Governor, 82-3
Sindh, 222, 225, 245
Sindhia, 197, 215-6, 219, 222
Singapore, 220, 246, 357
Siraj-ud-daula, 206
Slachter's Nek, 270
Slavery in South Africa, 271-2; in U.S.A., 149-50, 156-62, 165-6
Slave Trade, the, 13, 14, 22, 41, 43-5, 51, 258-9
Smith, Captain John, 21; Sir Harry, 276-7
Smuts, General, 292-3
Socotra, 356
Solomon Islands, 309, 361
Somaliland, British, 302
Somers, Sir George, 358
Somerset, Lord Charles, 270
South African Republic. *See* Transvaal
South African War, 118, 291-3, 347, 360
South Australia, 323, 335, 337, 349
South Sea Bubble, 199
Spain, relations with, 5-7, 13, 14-17, 66
Spaniards in America, 13-16, 42, 66, 127, 140, 153; in Australasia, 309
Spanish-American War, 180-1
Spanish Succession, War of the, 51
Spice trade, 18, 45
Spion Kop, Battle of, 292
St. Germains, Treaty of, 37
St. Helena, 189, 360
St. Kitts, 41
St. Lucia, 41, 360
St. Vincent, 41
Stamp Act, 71-2
Steam vessels, 90, 223, 333-4, 352
Steine, Captain, 317
Stel, Simon van der, 265
Steyn, President, 292, 294
Straits Settlements, 357
Strathcona, Lord, 109-10
Strikes in U.S.A., 168-9
Stuart, Macdonall, 337
Sturt, Captain, 319, 322
Subsidiary Alliance (India), 194, 217-18
Sudan, 304-5, 347
Suez Canal, 232, 280, 300, 334, 354-5, 360
Suffren, Admiral, 354
Sugar, 31, 43-4, 281, 336, 356, 362
Surat, 47, 48
Swan River, 321-2
Swazieland, 295
Swedish colonies, 33, 44
Sydney, 313-6, 327

Table Bay, 262, 264, 279
Taft, W. H., 183
Tahiti, 310, 315
Tariffs in Australia, 340-1; in Canada, 89, 116; in U.S.A., 148, 152, 167
Tasman, 311
Tasmania, 309, 314-7, 321, 324, 327-9, 333, 336, 342
Tasmanian aborigines, 328-9
Tel-el-Kebir, Battle of, 304
Tenasserim, 223
Tennessee, 140
Ternate, 18
Tewfik, 304
Texas, 153
Thugs, 230
Theebaw, King, 237
Thierry, Baron de, 326
Thompson, Charles Poulett, 88
Thorne, Robert, 7
Tin in Malaya, 357
Tippu Sultan, 215-6, 218-9
Tobacco, 22, 31, 55, 359
Tobago, 360
Togoland, 261
Tonga, 361
Tordesillas, Treaty of, 6
Toronto, 82
Torres, Luis de, 309
Towerson, 258
Trade routes, 3, 344, 351-2, 359-60
Transvaal, 276, 281, 283-8
Trek, 266; the Great, 273-4, 276
Trichinopoly, 204
Trincomalee, 354
Trinidad, 355, 360
Trucannini, 329
Trusts in U.S.A., 167-8
Tshaka, 274, 297
Tulbagh, Rijk, 267

Turkey, relations with, 238, 304-5, 354
Turkomanchai, Treaty of, 224

Uganda, 300-1
Uijs, Pieter, 275
Uitlanders, 287, 290
Ulundi, Battle of, 284
Union of South Africa, 285, 294-5
Union Pacific Railroad, 173-4
Utah, 178
Utrecht, Treaty of, 51, 102, 186-7, 353

Vagrancy Ordinance (South Africa), 272
Valetta, 353
Venezuela Boundary dispute, 180
Verrazano, 37
Versailles, Treaty of, 75, 102, 107, 127, 215, 259
Viceroys of India, list of, 247
Victoria, 323-4, 331, 335-6
Vienna, Congress of, 357, 360
Vine, 36, 265, 323
"Virginia" (Ralegh's colony), 11
Virginia, 20-3, 54, 136, 359

Waitangi, Treaty of, 326
Wakefield, Edward, 322, 326; Wakefield Theory, the, 322-3
Walsingham, 15
Wandiwash, Battle of, 208
Warren, Sir Charles, 286
Washington, George, 60, 62, 75, 122-6, 132-5
Washington, Treaty of, 106-7
Waterways of Canada, 89-90
Webster, Daniel, 151
Wei-hai-wei, 358
Wellesley, Arthur (Duke of Wellington), 217, 219; Lord, 217, 219
West Coast of Africa, trade with, 12-13, 43-5, 257-62
Western Australia, 321-2, 332
Westernport, 320, 324
West Indian Colonies, 41-3, 359
Westminster, Peace of, 33
Westward expansion of Canada, 91-7, 104-6, 108-10, 112-6; of U.S.A., 59, 138-41, 149, 153-5, 169-76
Whaling (Australia), 314-17
Wheat, 92, 116, 174, 323, 327, 348
Whig Party (U.S.A.), 152, 158-9
"Whisky Rebellion," the, 133
William III., 32, 51
Williams, Roger, 27
Willoughby, Sir Hugh, 7
Wilson, James, 238; Woodrow, 183-4
Windward Islands, 41
Wireless telegraphy, 335
Witwatersrand, 287
Wodehouse, Sir Philip, 282
Wolfe, James, 64-5
Wood-pulp industry (Newfoundland), 104
Wool (Australia), 317-19, 327, 348; (Britain), 1, 9; (South Africa), 280
Wyndham, 258

York, James, Duke of. *See* James II.
Yorktown, 75
Young, Brigham, 178

Zanzibar, 300-1
Zemindar (Zemindari), 189, 207, 217, 233
Zipangu, 4, 7
Zulus, 274, 284; Zululand, 287

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